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DEDICATION.

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

THE remarkable feature of the campaign of women during November has been its astounding success. Not only have large and influential meetings been held all over the country, the most noteworthy of which was that in the Queen's Hall, London, when, in spite of a dense fog, between two and three thousand people came together to hear the leaders of the suffrage movement, and where £600 was subscribed towards the propaganda of the campaign; but a militant action of an extensive character has been carried out.

Criticism of Militant Methods.

To appreciate the importance of this procedure, it is only necessary to study the remarks of the newspapers and the politicians thereon. The *Tribune* has devoted several leaderettes to the subject, and on Saturday, November 23, the principal leader contained the following expression of opinion:—

Unhappily, Mr. Lloyd George's very sound advice to suffragists has not yet been taken to heart—at any rate at Leeds, or among those itinerant inciters to disorder, some of whom would seem to have been there last night. On this occasion, we presume, they consider themselves to have achieved a signal success, since they managed to break up the meeting, and to drive Mr. and Mrs.

Gladstone from the platform. . . . Demonstrations of this kind are inevitably taken by the mass of the male voting community as demonstrations of the spirit and intellect of politically-minded women. The result is that men of open mind or even those who are not unfavourably disposed towards the suffrage are repelled; firm believers in the suffrage, such as the *Tribune*, find their advocacy terribly hampered, and, worst of all, British women as a whole—whose clearly signified demand, as Mr. Lloyd George said, and as Mr. Gladstone said last night, is an indispensable preliminary to the conversion of the country and Parliament to the urgency of the cause—decline to mix themselves up with anything of the kind, and, therefore, remain dumb.

This sounds exceedingly plausible, the only misfortune is that it is not true. The *Tribune* started its advocacy of women's cause during the demonstrations of 1906, it dropped it while the women were conducting their peaceful campaign of argument and meetings from March to September of the present year, and it has only begun to consider the question again now that the women have become formidable in consequence of their opposition to Cabinet Ministers.

Another Disappointed Friend.

The *Daily News*, which is equally shocked at the women's tactics, is in the same position. How much advocacy of woman's suffrage, we should like to ask, did readers of that paper get prior to the militant tactics of the autumn of 1905. Yet we are told now:—

Mrs. Henry Fawcett complains that the Press reports such occurrences at length, while ignoring quieter demonstrations, held by responsible advocates of the suffrage. It is an unfortunate but an inevitable incident to modern journalism. But, for ourselves, the case for women's suffrage has always been clear, and we desire to promote it whenever occasion offers.

Action or Argument.

The *Daily Chronicle*, in two leading articles, November 22 and 25, does not reckon itself at all in favour of the "suffrage on equal terms," which is the demand of the women. It boldly supports Mr. Lloyd George in his disingenuous plea that though 400 members of Parliament are pledged to Women's Suffrage, that is no reason why they should give effect to their avowed opinion, for there is "no evidence that they consulted their constituents on the subject"; and it proceeds to chastise the women for their actions, and to call upon them for argument. It takes no account of the fact that when you have to deal with dishonest persons who give pledges that they do not mean to keep, actions and not words are the only remedy.

Are Interruptions Defensible?

The *Westminster Gazette* thinks it very shocking that women should interrupt Cabinet Ministers, and believes that no defence can legitimately be given. In a note on November 18 we read:—

They do not interrupt because something is said with which they disagree; they go to the meeting with the deliberate, and, indeed, avowed object of making themselves a nuisance. They do that, not because they think their conduct is *per se* defensible, but because they think it pays. We think it both indefensible and inexpedient, but that is a difference of opinion which we know is not likely to be composed.

But, as a matter of fact, the women *do* think their conduct defensible *per se*. They think that it is perfectly legitimate political tactics to interrupt Cabinet Ministers

who admit no argument or reason, but are only prepared to yield to pressure.

Methods which "Get Home."

It will be seen from all these extracts that whatever else the women have done by their interruptions at Liberal meetings, they have, at any rate, made a considerable impression upon the Press of the country. And that the real meaning of the Press criticisms may be summarised as follows:—"For years you have adopted methods which we could disregard, now at last you are doing something which goes home to us. Please don't do it any more." But in case there are any readers of this paper who are inclined to take these Liberal arguments seriously, it is worth while to notice the following points.

How Women Have Proved Their Demand.

In the first place, the papers say that women have made no demand for the vote; they forget, or they would have the public forget, that women have long shown a demand for the vote, commencing with the early days of the suffrage agitation. Thousands of women in Manchester alone demanded to be put upon the register, and were refused. They were told that it was contrary to the law, and that they must make their claims before Parliament and not in the law courts. Immediately they set to work to collect names, and a host of petitions have been presented from that time until now. One of these alone contained the signatures of over a quarter of a million women. But the House of Commons took no heed whatever of these petitions, and treated them as waste paper, never to be heard of again. Recognising this the women set to work in another way—they thought that if they could convert members of Parliament to the justice of their demand they would speedily be successful. The futility of this theory has been proved by the fact that the present House of Commons, which contains nearly a two-thirds majority in favour of Woman's Suffrage, has done nothing, and seems likely to do nothing, unless the hand of the Government is forced by the women themselves.

No Smooth Course.

The Women's Social and Political Union has found out the only true way. It is the settled policy of that body to make itself politically unpleasant, and to render the Government of the country impossible by a Cabinet which refuses to give justice to women. This is not a smooth saying—few of the greatest truths with which men and women are confronted in life are smooth. When it is a question of fighting against the forces of privilege and prejudice in order to defend the interests of the weak, smooth words and kid-glove actions are not likely to win the day. Battles of this kind have to be fought by deeds, and deeds which do not please smooth people. Those who attribute moral blame to the women for this action surely forget the sayings of the founder of the religion which they profess to believe.

Wholly Political.

But the remarkable thing about the militant tactics which the women of the National Women's Social and Political Union have adopted is that, although they are forceable and effective, they are wholly political in char-

acter. Unlike the men, when they were fighting for the franchise, they do not involve personal injury to their opponents. The Cabinet Ministers have been pestered politically—it is their political prestige which has been hindered, and it is their political campaign which has been rendered ineffective by the women's acts. Any personal suffering which is involved falls wholly upon the women themselves, who willingly undergo it for the sake of the cause.

A Letter from a Liberal M.P.

A striking testimony to the rightness of the women's fight comes from a Liberal, Dr. George Cooper, the member for Bermondsey, who, in course of a letter to the *Daily News*, said:—

My political life began as a member of the Reform League. It is in my recollection that in 1867, and also in 1884, very few public speakers who were opposed to the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to men, whether members of the Cabinet or otherwise, could utter a single word at a public meeting. Meetings were broken up, platforms stormed, and their occupants had to escape the best way they could. In 1884 every Tory speaker used against any extension of the franchise the same arguments now being used by some Liberal speakers and newspapers against the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women. . . . Every extension of the franchise has been gained by force. Why, then, should women be condemned for using the same weapon men found so effectual when demanding the vote for themselves?

I own it is a rough weapon, but Cabinet Ministers do not recognise antagonists using any other.

There is one fact which cannot be denied—the activity of the Suffragettes has lifted the Woman's Franchise Bill out of the category of amusing and profane debate into that of a serious political question, and has done more to bring the cause to the front than all the five o'clock tea meetings held in the West-End during the last 20 years by titled and society ladies.

After this testimony from a Liberal M.P. there is not need for any further words of ours.

To New Readers.

In the form in which it appears in this number *VOTES FOR WOMEN* is issued as a *monthly* newspaper, and contains articles and other material likely to be of special interest to the general public. A uniform price of 3d. a copy is charged, or (as it cannot be registered at the Post Office as a newspaper, which only recognises weekly publications) it will be sent post free to any address within the postal union for 4d. a copy. In each of those weeks in which the monthly *VOTES FOR WOMEN* is *not* published a special four-page sheet is issued containing all the principal news of the movement—an account of the happenings of the week gone by, and a programme of prospective arrangements for the week to come. This weekly bulletin will be known as the *Votes for Women Supplement*,* and will be sold for 1d. (by post 1d.).

In the course of the year there will be twelve monthly numbers of the paper, and forty weekly supplements. Subscribers will be able to obtain the paper either through their newsagents, or through local W.S.P.U.'s, or by post direct from the offices of the paper, 4, Clement's-inn, W.C. The subscription for the year for all the issues and supplements is 7s. 4d., inclusive of postage; for the twelve monthly issues only, 4s.

* The Supplements to the present December number will accordingly be issued on December 5, December 12, December 19, and December 26, and the January number will be ready on January 1.

MESSAGES OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO WOMEN.

I am too hard driven to be able to write even a hundred words. But I think you know how very heartily I wish success to your new paper and to the movement it represents.

R. J. Campbell.

It is sometimes urged against the women's movement that they are the gentle sex, who should not be mixed up with the turmoil of politics; that their place is in the home; that they have a special vocation to sweeten and ennoble human life. But to my mind it is just because women have this character and function that we want them to share in the citizen life. If politics are a turmoil it does not follow that they ought to be. If "the home" is something apart from the State life it does not follow that it ought to be. It is because I want politics to become more thoughtful, and quiet, and peaceful, it is because I want "the home" to be civilised, and the State to be more homely, and human, and humane, it is because I want our social life to become more noble and sweet that I welcome women as full citizens. We talk about a "gentle-man" as a superior type of the male sex. Exactly so. That is why we want the gentle sex to come and help all the males to be gentlemen.

James Adderley.

We rejoice in the appearance of a newspaper which preaches the doctrine of women's rights, and tells the story of women's wrongs. The doctrine cannot be preached, the story cannot be told too often, because we are all apt to forget; and even if we do not forget, we allow our enthusiasm to droop and die. So strong are the forces arrayed against the enfranchisement of women, that our enthusiasm needs to be kept at concert pitch if we are to succeed in freeing ourselves from the fetters which hamper the movements of women whichever way we turn.

A newspaper which wages war on inertia is nothing less than a public blessing, for inertia is the one fatal clog to progress. The intelligence which sees the light without feeling the heat has never carried any great movement through. Reforms are won by those earnest souls who feel the equal power of "the light and heat which crown the holy hill" of every high endeavour. The light shows us the way along which we must go to achieve something; the heat makes us go and achieve it.

All hail VOTES FOR WOMEN, which both shows us the way, and makes us want to walk in it!

Clara Evelyn Mordan.

I send with great readiness my best wishes to the new magazine, and to the great movement in which you and your colleagues are engaged.

I have occasionally heard certain views in favour of Women's Suffrage which appeared unconvincing; I cannot recall a single contention advanced against the proposal which had any value whatsoever. The real enemy you have to fight is unreasoning prejudice, and this, you know, flounders about, concerning itself with some subject or other, in every country of the world. Bend all your efforts, then, to the attack by serious argument, or diverting, and either put it out of its misery with a rapier, or tickle it to death with a feather. You may be sure

that many who are not taking any conspicuous part in the struggle will—acting on precedent—push forward, and claim medals when victory is achieved.

I have a slight cold, but I think I shall live to see the day of your triumph, and to give my sincere congratulations. One can already hear the shrill cheering from those who will benefit most, namely, the dear children of the hard-up districts of town.

W. Pett Ridge.

A new paper—that means a new battle-comrade, who goes forth with a thousand voices to overcome on our behalf the spirit of opposition.

I greet VOTES FOR WOMEN with all my heart, and with this wish, that it may set out with good wind, and with full sail, to reach the Morning Land of our freedom. "Failure is impossible." This last word of the veteran warrior, Susan Anthony, is as sure as nature's law, but it is only by putting out all our energy and all our strength, that we shall ever bring the attainment of our great end, out from the distant future into the near and actual present. VOTES FOR WOMEN helps to do this. Good luck to the paper. Good luck to its founders and editors. Good luck to the great end and object which it serves.

Anita Augspurg

(Leader of the German Suffragists).

I have just got your letter and the copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN. I wish it great success. Our movement goes on slowly, but surely, here. The attitude of men is so liberal on the question in this country, that I should not be surprised if we had the franchise within a few years, without any struggle.

Olive Schreiner.

I have not yet seen the new paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, but your campaign in England for Woman's Suffrage has my hearty wishes for success.

Our movement in this country was the direct outcome of the newly awakened interest in Woman's Suffrage throughout England, although our problems are very different.

Irene N. A. Macfadyen.

President of the Women's Enfranchisement League, Cape Colony.

Women have every reason to face the future with confidence and hope. The time is past when they looked to men to carry forward the cause for them, and win for them the victory. To-day women rely upon their own action; they know that they are strong in their own good courage, and can render a good account of themselves in the hour of conflict and difficulty.

The conquest that they have to make is well within their power. The Government which opposes them is vulnerable at every point. Its great prestige, its enormous political majority will not serve it against the enthusiasm which women are arousing all over the country.

My message to women shall be a call for strong combined action and for a determined militant campaign; and I foresee a speedy triumph for our cause.

Christabel Pankhurst.

THE STRONG-MINDED MAN.

BY JOHN GALSWORTHY.

HE was invaluable as a public servant, having no obstinacy, but only strength of mind. In the course of his existence nearly every social subject had been brought to his attention, and since he had much honesty of purpose, he would consider each with painful conscientiousness, reading the newspapers on either side, and for some little time he would remain in what he felt to be unpleasant—a state of flux. During such periods he was very guarded as to what he said, feeling that sooner or later he would know his mind, and have to act on it, and he would continue reading in the newspaper, and for the facts about the question consult encyclopædias and other works. One day he would come in contact with some individual, unsympathetic to him, who would express a too decided view upon the subject, whatever it might be, on which he had as yet formed no decision. Then something in him would snap-to, and he would very likely not reply. Next morning, coming down to breakfast, he would find that all was clear as daylight; his opinion on this subject was established, and he would tell his friends: "I have thought it out, and I have come to the conclusion. . . ." But of his meeting with the individual who had aroused antagonism, he would not speak; indeed, he soon forgot it, for his mind was strong.

From that day on he never had a moment's hesitation. It was no longer an affair of facts, it was an affair of principle; no matter what discoveries were made, what changes came about, he knew it was his duty not to change his mind; and, having settled the affair, he was careful never to admit beyond the outer doors of his intelligence anything that would confuse his primary conclusion on the case. This was why he was invaluable to any movement he took up. For in the barrier that he opposed to all fresh currents and new tides of thought and feeling—until they overwhelmed him—people recognised a spot where they could congregate, and murmur to each other: "Look, what strength of mind! The tide is coming in, and he's determined not to see it! He'll be drowned! What strength of mind!" And he was not infrequently a Liberal.

To simple observers he seemed to have decided that power of comprehension, logic, foresight, open-mindedness were not at all essential to his strength of mind; all that mattered was to fix the point of view, and, having fixed it, never more to change. And there was nothing he detested in his friends as he detested obstinacy.

He was extremely numerous in his country, having been assisted to occur by accidents of blood and climate, especially of climate. For, having felt for many centuries the inconvenience of paying much attention to the weather, his skin had thickened, and beneath it a certain gouty tendency had subtervened, and this assisted to arrest the quickening of his sympathies that would have been so dangerous to his strength of mind. His blood, in fact, ran somewhat slowly, having its due proportion of the chalky substance necessary to strong-minded men.

On the point of woman, in particular, his mind was very strong. He had had a mother, who in her turn had had a mother, and so for all the generations since the English Constitution had been granted, and he had early made his mind up on the question of her status. Before his birth he had weighed those pros and cons., and, having in due course heard too strong a statement of opinion, had come to the conclusion that in producing him, woman had achieved her own political reward. Further than that he did not think that she should go, and he would laugh good-humouredly when she suggested that she wanted to.

Since he himself was what he was, he felt in his most secret heart that women's work had been well done; that if her work should be extended by those who were weak-minded on this subject, she would not, perhaps, produce him in the future. And this thought worried him. For the more he dwelt on all the things which she had done for him, the less he liked the notion of her doing things she wanted for herself. He often told his wife: "It would not be fair on her; I know what it is like." And his wife, whom he had carefully selected, would usually reply: "Of course not. I've no patience with them!" But sometimes—and this was something dreadful—in spite of all selection, he would acquire a wife who took the other point of view, and then his mind would strengthen visibly; stronger and stronger it would grow, until to broach the subject in his hearing would be dangerous. He would point out with acrimony that women always had produced him, always fed him, washed him, kept him clean, and that if there were a danger, however small, of these things being interfered with, he for one would be no party to it! And if some daring woman answered him, "We want our status, that we may produce you, feed you, wash you *better!*" he would reply, with pardonable heat: "Out of the question! Prove it; show me instances!" And since at present no instance could be shown him (for he had seen to that), his triumph was complete. Not that, had an instance been produced, he would have suffered it to warp the judgment he had formed, because, as has been said, his mind was strong. The stubborn way in which so many women pressed their point annoyed him very much, for, having closed the portals of his mind, the matter seemed to him so simple. As to the methods they employed, these occasioned him uneasiness. "So unfeminine! If only," he would say, "they would behave themselves, we should soon hear no more about the matter!" It has been said, his mind was strong.

For the credit of the female sex—a point which touched profoundly one who existed by reason of his mother and his wife—he felt it most important that women should drop at once all public demonstration. If—he argued—they did not demonstrate, men would have no occasion—indeed, would be the last—to employ force publicly against them. The question might be quietly, amicably threshed-out at home, and no one need hear anything about it. This would be in better taste. At present the sexes were in danger of disruption; no one could tell to what extremes things might be carried. For all he knew, women might declare a general boycott of the male, and where would they be then? This was an aspect of the case that they must not lose sight of. The effect of such a state of things upon the coming generation would be deplorable; in fact, the generation might not come, though men, no doubt, would do the best they could! The sphere of woman was the house—he would almost like to say the upper regions of the house. He was no illiberal-minded bigot, but it amazed him that weak-minded men had so forgotten what was owing to their sex as to dangle illusions before the eyes of women. That which had never been could never be. To see this plainly, only a little strength of mind was wanted!

And, standing with his coat-tails to the fire, a line of purpose at each corner of his mouth, he would look at his wife's face. Seeing an expression in her eyes, unhappy and a little desperate, a faint misgiving would arise within him, as though behind her he espied the beckoning ghosts of generosity and justice; but, recollecting that his mind was strong, he would swallow it.

WHAT THE VOTE MEANS TO THE WOMAN AS WIFE.

BY EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE. II.—WOMEN'S STATUS AT THE PRESENT DAY.

"What marriage may be in the case of two persons . . . between whom there exists that best kind of equality, similarity of powers and capacities, with reciprocal superiority in them—I will not attempt to describe. To those who can conceive it there is no need; to those who cannot, it would appear the dream of an enthusiast. But I maintain, with the profoundest conviction, that this and this only is the ideal of marriage; and that all opinions, customs, and institutions which favour any other notion of it . . . are relics of primitive barbarism. The moral regeneration of mankind will only really commence when the most fundamental of the social relations is placed under the rule of equal justice."

JOHN STUART MILL.

Love is the fulfilling of the law. Where love is, there is no need of any law. For there the affairs of human life are lifted out of the region of problem and strife into a realm of serene simplicity.

That is true not only of marriage, but of every human relationship in the world.

It is because of the cruelty and selfishness of human nature and the failure of the divine law of love that the legal code exists. Laws are made to restrain the evil-doer and to protect the weak. But it often happens that when the weak are doubly weak, and have no voice in the making of the laws, the legal code gives a semblance of moral authority to the evil-doer, and robs the weak even of their small powers of self-protection.

This is the case in the marriage laws of this country, which are not equal as between men and women, but press with injustice and hardship upon women.

Legal Tradition Dies Hard.

It is true that the husband's right of possession and right of control over the personal liberty of his wife has diminished since the decision of the Judges, in 1891, with regard to the famous Jackson case, the story of which I told last month. A man may not now imprison his wife. But legal tradition dies hard, and the shocking leniency with which cases of assault and cruelty against women by brutal husbands are dealt with in our courts of law is an outcome of the idea that a woman is her husband's "property."

Last month (November) a man was charged with the murder of his wife. The man pleaded in extenuation that deceased was of drunken habits. The Judge said that "no one could read the report of the case without seeing the violence used was of a most protracted and terrible kind." His lordship quite believed deceased was a provoking woman, but that a man should resort to such violence shocked every sense of what was right. His lordship said he could not do less than impose a sentence of seven years' penal servitude.

Women cannot help thinking of the many shamed and deserted girl-mothers, who in utter distraction and despair have been driven to the murder of their infants, and have been sentenced to death or to practically lifelong terms of penal servitude.

Another case last month could hardly have failed to arrest the attention of many readers. A married woman, forced to earn her own livelihood by setting up a stationer's shop, was assaulted by her husband, who attacked her, seized her by the throat, and with the help of two men accomplices bound her hands behind her with a rope and placed her in a coal cupboard, while they removed her furniture. The husband was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment—the sentence which three working women received the other day for attempting to ring the bell of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in order to bring to his consideration the

need that taxation and representation should go together.

It is notorious that the divorce laws are unjust to women.

The laws of property are unjust to the married woman. "With all my worldly goods I thee endow" has been the exchange vow of the bridegroom at the marriage altar of some centuries. Yet neither during life nor after death is there the shadow of substance in this pledge. Not only has she no right to spend her husband's money on general objects, but she has not even any definite, well-secured right even to maintenance by her husband. To quote a well-known legal text-book (Macqueen): "The only reason why a husband should support his wife is that she may not become a burden on the parish. So long as this calamity is averted the wife has no claim on her husband, and, in fact, she has no direct claim on him, in any circumstances whatever; for even in the case of positive starvation she can only come on the parish for relief, and then the parish authorities will insist that her husband shall provide for her to the extent at least of sustaining life."

If her husband is wealthy she is often kept in complete ignorance of the amount of his estate during his life. After his death he is entitled to leave by will the whole of his possessions away from her, and if he dies intestate she cannot claim more than one-half of the property, even when there are no children. On the other hand, if a wife dies intestate leaving children, the whole of her state becomes the property of her husband, to the exclusion of her children. It therefore follows that the husband can, and sometimes does, endow his second wife and her children, or some outsider, with his first wife's fortune, to the exclusion of her offspring.

Again, if a child dies under the age of 21, or if over age leaves no will, the father has the right by law to the whole of the property. A case illustrating the peculiar hardship of this law was brought to the attention of the public a few days ago:—

Some years ago a woman divorced her husband, and was given the custody of the children. She has an income derived from her late father's estate, the capital of which goes to her children at her death. When one of her children (over age) died recently, without leaving a will, she found that her divorced husband (who had married again) was entitled to this child's share of her late father's money, and to everything belonging to her child.

The man-made law held that she (the mother) was not so much the next-of-kin or heir-at-law of her own child as the man who by his behaviour had forfeited all ties of relationship.

The Working Woman Wife.

When the working woman marries she generally leaves her employment. In fact, public authorities and private employers have often a rule which dismisses female employees on marriage.

She then enters the service of her husband. But this service is not remunerated in money. She cannot claim any definite share of his wages to enable her to keep the house or the children or herself, she cannot even claim maintenance at all except by an appeal to the guardians, who will act in order to prevent her from coming on the parish. Moreover, a recent legal decision has emphasised the fact that a wife is not entitled to anything that she can save by good management out of the housekeeping allowance which has been actually supplied to her. Though she be cook, laundress, tailoress, cleaner, dishwasher, and nurse to her "master's" children (for they are his children in the eyes of the law, not hers), she cannot call a penny her own.

The economic status of the working woman wife is thus the status of a slave.

THE SCOTTISH WOMEN GRADUATES' LAWSUIT.

BY J. CHRYSAL MACMILLAN.

When in January, 1906, the first contested election in a Scottish University since women became graduates was about to take place, few graduates had considered the question seriously. They had always had a half belief they would receive their voting papers, and that these would have to take their chance at the poll. It transpired, however, a few days before the papers were to be sent out—for in this constituency voting is done by post—that papers were not to be sent to women graduates.

This decision drove them to the direct study of the law of the question, and it was found that women are not directly excluded by statute from voting at Parliamentary elections. It was also found that the General Council register on which the women's names were entered was the statutory register of Parliamentary voters, and that all previous cases had merely decided that women could not insist on having their names put on voting registers. It was further discovered that the reason for excluding women in counties and burghs was common law or custom, whereas there was no custom against women voting in Scottish University elections, for this was the first contested election since women had become graduates.

Some graduates, therefore, made formal application for their voting papers, stating that they had resolved in the case of these being refused to take legal steps to establish their right. They were refused, and the lawsuit became necessary.

In this particular action the pursuers are graduates of Edinburgh University, and their action is directed against the Universities of St. Andrew's and of Edinburgh, who jointly return one member to Parliament, and especially against the Registrar of the University of Edinburgh, who, in the first instance, refused the voting papers.

How the Demand Arose.

The principal legal points are as follows:—The Scottish Reform Act of 1868 for the first time conferred on the Universities of Scotland the right to return two members to Parliament. This franchise is given to "persons of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity" who are members of the general councils of these Universities. The word "person" is used in conferring this franchise in contradistinction to the word "man," which is used in all other enabling sections of this Act, and to the same word "man" which is used in conferring the franchise on members of convocation of London University in the English Reform Act of 1867.

In 1881 an amendment to the above 1868 Act was passed, making regulations for voting by means of voting papers sent through the post.

In 1889 an Act conferred powers of the Scottish University Commissioners to make ordinances to admit women to graduation.

In 1892 this power was exercised, and women were admitted to graduation, but it had been laid down in the 1881 amendment above that "*no person shall be allowed after examination to graduate until he shall have paid as a registration fee . . . and thereafter the name, &c., of each person . . . shall on his graduation be entered by the registrar in the registration book . . . in order to their being transferred to the register of members of the general council.*" So the Commissioners had no discretion as to whether the names of the women were to be on the statutory register.

The names of the women have been entered on the register, and they have always exercised all the privileges of membership. The same section of the 1881 Act fur-

ther says, "Provided always that no person subject to any legal incapacity shall be entitled to vote at any Parliamentary election or exercise any other privilege as a member of the general council of any University." The University had recognised their capacity to exercise the other privileges, but denies this one. The case was first heard before Lord Salverne in July, 1906, and he decided against the women on both points.

Who is a Person?

On the question of their right to have their votes counted, he said, in interpreting the expression, "person not subject to any legal incapacity," either "person" means male person, or "not subject to any legal incapacity" excludes the claims of women, as they are at common law legally incapacitated from exercising the Parliamentary franchise.

He also denied the right to voting papers, because it would be absurd for the registrar to send papers which he would afterwards have to reject. The Judge here misread the statute, for it is provided that the Vice-Chancellor, and not the registrar, shall have the right to reject.

The appeal was heard in October of this year. The belief among counsel before the judgment was given was that the Judges would declare they were incompetent to decide on the main question, and that the women ought to have received their voting papers, as it was their only means of raising the question in the proper courts, and, besides, if the registrar were to decide, he was taking upon himself the powers of clerk, returning officer, and election judges rolled into one. The ultimate judgment was that—

It is an incontestable fact that women never have enjoyed the Parliamentary franchise of the United Kingdom.

In view of these facts, we must conclude that it was a principle of the unwritten constitutional law of the country that men only were entitled to take part in the election of representatives to Parliament.

All ambiguous expressions in modern Acts of Parliament must be construed in the light of this general principle.

It is difficult to conceive that the Legislature should have conferred the power of extending or withholding the franchise by devolution, a power which it has always kept in its own hands.

As criticism of this, it may be remarked that constitutional principles can only be deduced from the common law taken with the statute law, and to invoke them in this way is to beg the whole question. With respect to the practice of the Legislature keeping the right of extending the franchise in its own hands, in this same constituency we have an example of another franchise which was conferred by devolution. In the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868, those who shall be members of the general council include "all persons on whom the University . . . has after examination conferred the degree of Doctor of Medicine, &c., . . . or any other degree that may hereafter be instituted." Since the passing of this Act the degree of Bachelor of Music has been instituted, and men in virtue of this degree vote for their University Member of Parliament.

A meeting of the Graduates' Committee has been called to consider what further steps are to be taken. If the case is taken to the House of Lords a further sum of £1,000 will have to be subscribed. All who believe in this as one of the useful methods of promoting women suffrage should send contributions to Miss Chrystal Macmillan, hon. sec. and treasurer, Corstorphine Hill House, by Murrayfield, Midlothian.

"A TYPICAL SUFFRAGIST."

BY MARY PHILLIPS.

"YOU aren't a bit like my idea of a Suffragist!" How often have we been greeted with remarks like this from people who, having recovered from their first shock at the suggestion of votes for women, begin to grow friendly and confidential.

Ask them for a description of their hypothetical suffragist, and they draw a weird word-picture of a gaunt, unprepossessing female of uncertain age, with a raucous voice, and a truculent demeanour, who invariably seems to wear elastic-sided boots, and to carry a big "gampy" umbrella, which she uses as occasion demands either to brandish ferociously by way of emphasising her arguments, or to belabour any unfortunate member of the opposite sex who happens to displease her.

Tell your interlocutor that you have never met his "typical Suffragist," and that you are afraid she does not exist outside the imagination of the newspaper artists and the uninitiated public for whom they cater, and he will be half-incredulous. Let him see and hear some of the leaders of the movement, and he will begin to realise for himself that he has made a mistake.

Generalisations of any kind are notoriously unsafe. But there is one spirit that inspires all the women who live in and for our movement—"our women," as we proudly and affectionately call them—and there is in my mind an imaginary picture of the woman in whom this spirit is embodied. It is a picture I love to look upon, for to me it represents the "typical Suffragist."

She may be old or young or middle-aged. She may be strong or weak, rich or poor, plain or handsome. Her garments may be made in any style, or colour, or material under the sun. Usually, they are tasteful and becoming, though sometimes they are quite shabby and old. But the one dominant note about her is—happiness. She is bright and alert, and always ready with a smile and a cheery word. That is because she is fighting in a high and noble cause, not for herself, but for others—for her sisters, on whom the burden of life rests heavily, and for all the men and women who will live after her. In this cause she feels no labour too hard, no sacrifice too great. All she does is done spontaneously and willingly. She needs no elaborate system of red-tape and regulations to keep her attached to the movement—she only laughs at such things.

She is careful to consider the feelings of others, and she is sympathetic, forbearing, and forgiving. She does not seek her own aggrandisement, but is always trying to bring out the best that is in others, and to help and encourage them in their efforts. There is no room in her life for jealousy, or uncharitableness, or dishonesty. She is "straight" in all her dealings. "Be true to your word, and your work, and your friend," is her motto, and she can be trusted absolutely.

Do I idealise her? Perhaps. But if the spirit of the woman's movement is not yet fully embodied in all the units composing it, most of them have caught reflections, more or less perfectly, of its light and beauty. And to be a unit in such a whole is the very best possible way of approaching the realisation of the kind of ideal I have sketched.

HONOUR TO WHOM HONOUR IS DUE.*To the Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN.*

DEAR FELLOW-WORKERS,—Allow me to say why I object to being called "the veteran of the Suffrage movement," though I am grateful for the kind appreciation which the use of such words implies. It is because of the simple fact that there are other women, and some men, still living and working for our great cause, whose work began at least as early as my own. Some, in mere years of life, are younger than myself, others older, and therefore with far stronger claims than my own to the title of "veteran."

Foremost amongst the latter class I must place the honoured names of Mrs. Pochin and of Mrs. Haslam. Mrs. Pochin published her first pamphlet for Women's Suffrage so long ago as 1855. Mrs. Haslam, of Dublin, began to work at the same time as myself, as did also Miss Emily Davies, whose work for Suffrage has been lost sight of in the splendour of her great educational achievement, the creation of Girton College, and Mrs. Fawcett, whose active work began very shortly afterwards, and has never been intermitted. Of the dear departed workers I do not here venture to speak. They are a great host,

whose work is not lost, though its results are not yet fully seen, and whose spirit lives and moves in us to-day. But of two living veterans, both men, I should like specially to remind our younger workers. The Rev. S. A. Steinthal, of Manchester, at whose house, just 42 years ago last month, was formed the first Manchester Women's Suffrage Committee; and Mr. Haslam, of Dublin, who, though well advanced, as is his dear wife, in the eighties, is, with her, still an active, living, working force, and a source of constant inspiration to others.

Our veterans are not one or two, but a powerful host, still working on in the hope and assurance that the day is at hand when the spirit of truth and justice shall overcome the vanity and narrowness of sex-privilege, and justice between the two sexes shall inaugurate that brighter day for humanity for which we all hope and work.

Faithfully yours,

ELIZABETH C. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.

Congleton.

LLOYD GEORGE AND WOMAN'S VOTE.

SIR,—Two questions were put to Mr. Lloyd George at his meeting in the St. Andrew's Halls last evening, neither of which he answered correctly.

One of these, a written question, was as follows:—

As Mr. Lloyd George had replied to a deputation to-day that he would oppose any measure that did not give a working man's wife as much voice in the making of the laws of the country as he had himself, would Mr. Lloyd George also oppose a measure for manhood suffrage if it did not include womanhood suffrage?

Mr. Lloyd George simply replied that he was in favour of womanhood suffrage, and that he had spoken of both manhood and womanhood suffrage to the deputation. This, it will be seen, was no answer to the question.

The other question was asked verbally by a lady in the audience. It was:—

Why does Mr. Lloyd George, as a friend of woman suffrage, who believes it to be a great public question, never refer to it in his speeches? He and the other Cabinet Ministers go about educating the public by their speeches on those matters which they believe to be for the welfare of the country. Why is the question of "Votes for Women" not treated in the same way?

Mr. Lloyd George told the audience, who, owing to interruptions, could not hear the lady, who stood just in front of the platform, that she had asked him why he had not spoken on Woman's Suffrage instead of on Free Trade. His reply was that "the preacher had a right to choose his own text."

This can hardly be called an honest answer to the question asked, and will not encourage the Suffragists to wait till the close of the meeting on the future occasions when Mr. Lloyd George may be speaking.

In reply to yesterday's deputation, Mr. Lloyd George said that until the opinion of the country had been taken upon the question of "Votes for Women," no Government could carry the reform. One would like to ask him in what way the opinion of the country is ever taken on any reform, except by it being embodied in the speeches of party leaders when preparing for an appeal to the country.

ANNIE SWAN.

Glasgow, November 23.

A "VOTES FOR WOMEN" CHRISTMAS CARD.—Members and friends should send for a sample of the Christmas card published by the N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's-inn, price 1d. each, 10s. 100. We feel sure that they will be extremely pleased with the style and the printing, and with the very beautiful message that it bears. Very many of our members would, we think, be inclined to adopt this card as their own Christmas greeting to their entire circle of friends. Orders should be sent in as soon as possible.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN.

December, 1907.

4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

A CHRISTMAS GREETING.

To all our readers at this glad season of the year we
 bring a greeting of great joy.

The festival which we celebrate at Christmas is one of
 double significance.

To the Pagan, who had watched through the autumn
 days the steady recession of the sun, who had seen the
 nights grow longer, and the hours of daylight less,
 Christmas was the great feast when the chariot of the
 sun turned in his course, and started again the ascent
 of the sky; it was the birth of the promise of the new
 life that was to be, the assurance that while still darkness
 and winter reigned, spring and summer, light and sun-
 shine, would yet come back to fill the earth with flower
 and fruit, and bring joy and gladness to the heart of
 man.

To the Christian this festival of Christmas is the
 rebirth of the human soul. It is the coming of the new
 redeeming life, the awakening of the new hope. It is the
 promise that tyranny shall not for ever triumph nor the
 weak be oppressed. It is the glad tidings that beyond
 and behind the material limitations of our being there are
 the ideal forces which sustain our life. It is the assurance
 that, though still evil and ugliness are strong, yet "God's
 in His Heaven, all's right with the world."

We, too, have a great glad tidings to announce, a
 message of hope and joy, and goodwill.

All down the centuries women have watched the days
 of darkness for the sign of the coming of the spring;
 they have marked the triumph of cruelty and oppression;

they have looked in vain for the advent of a deliverer.
 All down the centuries the woman-thought has been dis-
 paraged; the woman-heart has been choked back, the
 woman-life repressed.

We come to bring the glad tidings that this day is
 over, we come to tell women all over the world that the
 days of their darkness are done, that the hours of their
 discomfiture are past.

We come to bid them in full confidence prepare them-
 selves for the spring, whose signs we have seen in the
 sky; we come to warn them to be ready to welcome the
 redeeming life, to accept the full inheritance of gladness
 which is theirs.

We know full well that there will be hard things in the
 future, as there have been hard things in the past. We
 know full well that there will be conflict and struggle,
 difficulty and disappointment, but we come to bid them
 be of good courage. We come to tell them that the
 battle has already turned in their favour, that the forces
 of life are with them, that victory is assured.

Past is loneliness and bitter failure, past is sex conflict,
 past is prejudice and misunderstanding. The future is
 bright with hope; we read in the signs of the times the
 promise that woman is coming to her own, that she,
 together with man, is going to take up their common
 inheritance, and that they two together will bring about
 a new springtime, wherein the tree of human life shall
 bear blossoms of beauty, and fruit of joy, and all the
 nations of the earth shall be blessed.

THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

The principal feature of the past month's campaign has been the protests made by our members at meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers.

The first protest was made at Mr. Sidney Buxton's meeting at Poplar, on October 25. Three days later came the demonstration against the Government made at Mr. Lewis Harcourt's meeting in Rossendale. Earlier in the day Mr. Harcourt had informed a deputation that he was hostile to woman suffrage. Asked why he was opposed to that reform, he replied "because I am." A question put to Mr. Asquith at Tayport, on October 29, elicited the statement that he also remains unconverted.

On November 7 several members of the Union attended Mr. Harcourt's meeting, at Batley, and after being ejected, held a huge indignation meeting outside the hall.

At Brighton, on November 11, a demonstration was made at Mr. McKenna's meeting in the Dome. The progress of the meeting was several times arrested, Mr. McKenna saying to the chairman at one point, "It is impossible to get on, absolutely impossible."

On the following day a protest was made at Mr. Birrell's meeting at Southampton, and afterwards an indignation meeting was held, attended by a large and sympathetic audience. On November 13 the Prime Minister spoke at Bristol, and to his meeting went several members of our Union. Seeing that the Prime Minister was ill, they decided to content themselves with making one or two interjections. For doing this two of them were expelled.

Mr. Asquith's Meeting.

Three days afterwards Mr. Asquith spoke at Nuneaton. During the course of his address thirty-one women rose at intervals to demand the vote. A very large force of stewards was in attendance, and every woman was promptly ejected. Our members met with considerable sympathy from the audience. Working men in the gallery accused those on the platform of cowardice, and many of the women's interruptions were applauded by people in all parts of the theatre.

Mr. Haldane visited Sheffield on November 20, and was met at the railway station by a women's deputation, asking that the enfranchisement of women should be mentioned in the King's Speech next session. Arriving at the University later in the day, Mr. Haldane was met by another deputation. On both occasions he made an evasive reply. Such were the precautions taken by the Liberals that it was impossible for any woman known to be a suffragist to gain admission to the public meeting held at night. Special women's tickets had been issued, and the holders of these were severely cross-questioned before being allowed to enter the hall. Our members, while the Liberal meeting was in progress, held four protest meetings outside, one on each side of the hall, and attracted audiences of many thousands.

Lord Tweedmouth spoke in Exeter, on November 22, and extraordinary pains were taken to exclude Suffragists. Ordinary tickets of admission were marked "gentlemen only." Women's tickets were very cautiously distributed, and bore the name and address of the holder. The daughter of a prominent local Liberal was denied a ticket

because she refused to sign a document pledging herself not to hand her ticket to a "Suffragette." Notwithstanding these precautions, one member of the Union succeeded in entering the hall, and upon making her protest, she was ejected. There was an indignation meeting outside the hall. Mr. Herbert Gladstone was in Leeds on November 21 and 22, for the purpose of addressing his constituents. At both his meetings there were protests from women. At the second of these meetings the action of our members and of a large number of men who supported them, led to the complete breaking up of the meeting, and Mr. Gladstone was, as the Press had it, put to flight.

Mr. Lloyd George, when in Glasgow, received a deputation from the local Women's Suffrage Society. The main points of his reply were that suffragists should appeal to their own sex instead of "worrying and henpecking" men; that the pledges of the 420 friends in the present House of Commons were not made to their constituents, and were, therefore, not of practical value; that the matter must come before the country at a General Election before Parliament could settle it; that he could hold out no hope of the introduction of a Government measure for woman suffrage during the present Parliament.

Our Reply to Lloyd George.

In reply to Mr. Lloyd George we have to say that, though we shall continue the work of rousing women to demand the vote, we shall not cease from harassing the Government, who are responsible for our disfranchisement. That private members' pledges are valueless is not news to the Women's Social and Political Union. We have always known that only action taken by the Government as a whole is of any use. It will be interesting to know what is now to be the policy of the Liberal women and the older Suffrage Society, who have hitherto pinned their faith to private members' pledges and whose illusions have now been so rudely, yet opportunely, destroyed by Mr. Lloyd George. They must now face the fact that by making the individual and personal pledge of candidates the basis of their election work, they are journeying down a blind alley. No woman who is a practical politician and a keen suffragist can resist the conclusion that only by opposing the Government, so that they may be forced to deal with our question, can the vote be won. The admission that the Government do not intend to concede our claim during the present session removes every vestige of excuse for refraining from the anti-Government campaign. The assertion that the country must be consulted is obviously an empty excuse for delay. Under present law the opinion of the country means the opinion of the men electors, and their right to withhold the vote we deny. Further, the Government have not only introduced a Plural Voting Bill, which was not before the country at the last election, but they intend, if the Peers will consent to such a course, to effect a vast constitutional change by altering the position of the House of Lords without previously submitting the question to the electors.

Mr. Lloyd George, in professing a desire for adult womanhood suffrage could hardly expect to be taken seriously. His replies to questions at the meeting in St. Andrew's Hall were most unsatisfactory. Asked whether he would oppose a measure for manhood suffrage which did not include womanhood suffrage, he replied, evading the point of the question, that he was "in favour" of womanhood suffrage. He was then asked why, though he claims to be a friend of woman suffrage, he never refers

to it in his speeches, so that the country may be educated on this as on other public questions. He told the audience, who, owing to interruptions, could not hear the question, that he had been asked why his speech that night had not been devoted to woman suffrage instead of to Free Trade.

The recent utterances of Mr. Lloyd George and other members of the Cabinet are the strongest proof of the necessity of our militant tactics. The quietly-expressed demand of thousands of Liberal women and others they disregard. The new militant campaign, they cannot ignore and in time they must yield to it. In the appeal of more than one member of the Government for the cessation of our present tactics we have a sign that those tactics are producing their effect. The Press has given great prominence to our recent action. Many of the great "dailies" have devoted leading articles to the subject. A perusal of these reveals the fact that much of the work of past years has gone for nothing, for editorial ignorance of the lengthy agitation for woman suffrage seems complete. Criticisms of the new tactics, whether from the Press or from any other quarter, which does not take into account the failure of the milder agitation, cannot be regarded seriously. We are repeatedly exhorted by the Liberal newspapers to abandon our various forms of attack upon the Government, but to this we naturally turn a deaf ear.

Conservatives and Woman Suffrage.

At the Conservative Conference in Birmingham a woman suffrage resolution was carried. The *Daily News* referred to this as "a pin prick at the Liberal party." Doubtless Liberals will be equally displeased by the speech of Mr. F. E. Smith, the Conservative member for the Walton division, Liverpool. Speaking in Liverpool on the position of the present Government, he asked whether, "in the history of politics, time has ever brought a swifter or darker nemesis to a great political party? Two years ago the Liberal ranks seemed closed, women workers rallied round them, believing their promises of enfranchisement. . . . To day, having promised votes to women because they are women, they withhold them because they are suffragettes. . . . Mr. McKenna said that he was coming with a sword in his hand. Let him keep it to deal with the suffragists whom his party has duped."

The *Morning Post* at the beginning of a leading article, on Thursday, November 14, said: "Mr. Birrell addressed a Liberal meeting at Southampton on Tuesday, and after a preliminary contest with some female members of his party—who seem to have been treated in the most unchivalrous manner—he was able to make a speech."

The *World* said:—

Though it is impossible to defend their conduct in deliberately attempting to break up meetings, an alternative might surely be found to such painful and degrading scenes as that enacted at Nuneaton where some 30 women were violently ejected, after something very like a free fight with the men told off for the unpleasant duty of expelling them. It is noticeable that at these meetings of the party which claims to be in a special sense the protector of the right of free speech, the "votes for women" advocates are never by any chance allowed to state their case, nor is any attempt made to define or defend the attitude of the Government on the question in which they are interested. On the Unionist side, though opinion as to the claims of the Suffragettes is notoriously divided, there is no such cowardly attempt to burke the discussion of the question, as was proved last week at the Birmingham Conference, where—rather surprisingly—a motion found acceptance which favoured a limited measure of female enfranchisement. How far this vote represented the opinion of the party as a whole remains to be seen; but Unionists at least recognise that the question cannot be settled by running away from it.

These are some of the signs that the Government's political opponents are coming to regard Woman Suffrage as a question of practical politics.

Demonstrations at Liberal meetings have not absorbed the whole energy of the W.S.P.U. In November we held a great number of meetings, large and small. There was an important meeting at Bristol, attended by several pioneers of the Women's Suffrage movement.

In London, in spite of a dense fog, a great crowd of women attended at the Queen's Hall on November 11 and gave an enthusiastic hearing to our speakers. An appeal by the treasurer for funds with which to continue the battle met with a generous response, sixty or seventy women sending up promises to give various sums amounting in all to no less than £570.

A successful meeting at Leeds resulted in the conversion to our methods of several Liberal women and in the addition to the fund of £42. The Town Hall meeting in Birmingham was attended by a number of university students, whose object was to disturb the meeting. Their conduct had the effect of winning us much sympathy in the city, and there is a demand for another meeting. There have been large meetings also in Brighouse, Exeter, Inverness, and other towns.

The Hull By-Election.

The Hull election has claimed many of our workers. At the time of writing the result of the election is not known. Whether or no we have succeeded in preventing the return of the Government's candidate, we have converted to Woman Suffrage thousands of men and women in Hull. The reception we have had has been most friendly. Several meetings have been held each day, and these have been attended by large audiences, who seemed never to tire of hearing about the Votes for Women Movement.

During December we shall be active in Scotland, in Mr. Harcourt's constituency and other parts of Lancashire, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in Nottingham, where we are to hold a meeting in the Mechanics' Hall on December 2, in Birmingham, and elsewhere.

Plans for 1908.

We have already made preparations for extending our campaign very largely during the early months of 1908. Owing to the rapid growth of the work which has to be done in the offices of the union, the increasing output of literature and the extension of other departments, we decided to enlarge the office accommodation. A suite of six additional rooms adjoining those at present held by us was fortunately available, and preparations are already being made for getting them ready for our use. After the Christmas holidays we shall be in our new premises, which will very much facilitate our work.

The first important engagement of the New Year is that in the Horticultural Hall on January 23, when we expect to have a large gathering of men and women, and we shall formulate our demand for the enfranchisement of women to be accorded by Parliament in 1908.

On February 11, 12, and 13, a Parliament of Women will be held by us in the Caxton Hall, and as we shall then be in possession of the precise terms of the King's Speech, women will know what lies in front of them. On March 19 we are to have a great meeting in the Albert Hall, and as this is the largest hall in London, we hope all our friends will rally round us to make this meeting a very great success. Meanwhile, we are arranging for a series of lectures to be given on Tuesday evenings during March and April in the Portman Rooms. I hope to be able to give particulars of all these engagements in a little while. The tickets will be out before Christmas, so that all friends of the movement will be able to dispose of them during the Christmas holidays. It rests with women to win their enfranchisement during the coming Session of Parliament by their enthusiasm and their determination.

THE HULL BY-ELECTION.

Liberal ... Mr. Guy Wilson.
 Conservative ... Sir G. Trout Bartley.
 Labour ... James Holmes, A.S.R.S.

N.W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms: 361, Hessle-road,
 Hull.

Polling Day, Friday, November 29.

Figures at the General Election were:—

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------|
| Hon. C. H. Wilson (Lib.) | 8,652 |
| Sir John Sherburn (Cons.) | 6,405 |
| Majority | 2,247 |

The polling day has been fixed considerably earlier than was originally anticipated, and before VOTES FOR WOMEN has reached the hands of its readers the election will be a thing of the past.

The volume of work has grown rapidly as the day has come nearer, and there have been great demands made both for speakers and for work in our committee rooms, but through the assistance of voluntary workers we have been able to meet all calls. In addition to Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, and Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Mordan, Mrs. Massey, Mrs. Eates, Miss Keevil, Miss Dugdale, Mrs. Chatterton, and others have been working in Hull with very satisfactory results.

Midday meetings have been held at the factory gates and at the docks, and have all proved a great success. Special meetings for women have been well attended, and there is a general consensus of opinion that the "suffragettes" are made of the right stuff.

Our success has been all the more remarkable, as the weather has been exceptionally bad, cold winds and a sea fog being the regular order of the day.

The people of Hull thoroughly appreciate our tactics, and consider our protests at Liberal meetings quite justified.

The Liberal Candidate's Position.

They generally also understand our by-election policy of setting ourselves in direct opposition to the Government nominee without regard to his personal views. On this point some confusion has been introduced by other suffrage societies which have been pursuing a different policy. In view of a meeting which is being held as VOTES FOR WOMEN goes to press on Tuesday evening, November 26, which is to be addressed by the Liberal candidate, and which is organised in support of woman's enfranchisement, Mrs. Pankhurst has sent the following letter to the local papers:—

You were good enough to publish my letter requesting Mr. Guy Wilson, the Liberal candidate for West Hull, to prove his support of Women's Suffrage by endeavouring to obtain from the Prime Minister and the Cabinet a promise that a Government measure shall be introduced next session. As this promise has not been obtained, we are continuing our opposition to the election of the Government nominee. My reason for writing to you now is that I am informed that Mr. Guy Wilson is advertised to speak at a Women's Suffrage meeting held under the auspices of the N.W. and W.S.S. and the Hull S.S. I would like, through you, Sir, to request Mr. Wilson at that meeting to reply to the following questions, in order that the women who support his candidature may know exactly where they stand:—

If elected, will Mr. Guy Wilson move an amendment to the King's Speech if Women's Suffrage finds no place in it?

Will Mr. Guy Wilson take part in the ballot for places for private members' Bills, and, if successful in obtaining a good place in the ballot, will he give that place to a Women's Suffrage Bill?

Will Mr. Guy Wilson do all in his power to persuade the Government to introduce a Government measure, and, if the Government persist in their refusal to deal with the question, is he prepared to oppose the Government?

Unless Mr. Wilson is prepared to do these things, his support is valueless, and women who really want votes should realise, as I do, that the only way to get votes is to oppose with all their strength a man who, while professing to be in favour of Women's Suffrage, is seeking election in order to

support a Government which taxes women and legislates for them, and obstinately refuses to give them representation.

Yours, &c.,

E. PANKHURST.

The Liberal women have not shown to best advantage during the election. Considerable local interest was aroused by the refusal of the Women's Liberal Association to allow Mrs. Martel to be present at a debate on woman's suffrage, held at their premises, for which she had received an invitation. As a sequel, several of their supporters resigned from the association, and of those that remained many have thought it expedient to offer an apology for the rudeness of their officials.

Mrs. Martel has addressed the Women's Co-operative Guilds, and made a number of converts to the methods and tactics of the W.S.P.U.

Miss Una Dugdale put some pertinent questions at a lecture on "Electoral Reforms," given in the Cobden Hall on November 24. The speaker in his address had advocated "One man, one vote." When the discussion began Miss Dugdale urged the paramount claim of the woman's question, and not only received considerable applause from the audience, but turned the whole subsequent discussion into the channel of woman's suffrage, the following speakers without a single dissentient voice upholding her position.

The Final Week.

I have only been in Hull three or four days, but the well-known spirit of enthusiasm and of definite purpose is as apparent in this by-election as in those gone by. It does, indeed, speak well for the popularity of our cause that hundreds, nay, thousands of people will stand for hours in the face of the coldest winds, in order to hear the case of voteless women against the Government. Three or four meetings go on simultaneously each night in different corners of the constituency; dinner-hour meetings are, as we generally find, popular as any. On Saturday, November 23, Mrs. Pankhurst went by special request to address the brassfounders as they left their work for the weekend. Generally the working man is especially anxious to get home soon on a Saturday dinner-time, but even football attractions fail under such circumstances as these. Perhaps the special attractions of the last week of the campaign, in addition to the general fixtures, will be the meetings for "women only," which are to be held each afternoon. The objects of these meetings, apart from their wonderful educational value, is to get local helpers for the last strenuous days; and also to enlist recruits for the procession of women we hope to arrange on polling day. The first of the series was held on Saturday, and Mrs. Pankhurst tells me that a significant feature was the presence of a large number of Liberal women, who were very much impressed with the arguments for the methods and policy of our Union. Perhaps, in view of Mr. Lloyd George's, Mr. Harcourt's, and Mr. Gladstone's recent plain hints on adult suffrage (present style), Liberal women may yet see the errors of their suffrage ways.

A great eve-of-the-poll demonstration is to be held on Thursday next at the Beverley-road Baths, when, in addition to those of us who are already on the spot, we are trying to arrange for a special visit from Adela Pankhurst, in order that she may tell the electors of West Hull at first hand her "democratic" experiences of the last week. Altogether, a busy week lies ahead, and at the time of writing, if the enormous and enthusiastic meeting held this afternoon in the Corporation Fields and addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, Miss Mordan, Mrs. Chatterton and myself is to be taken as an indication of the result of our campaign, one may safely conjecture a surprise for the Government!

By no means the least important work has been going on in our committee room. Here Mrs. Chatterton supervises the literature department, and Miss Hudson, Mrs. Salvidge, Mrs. Bramwell, Mrs. Upton, and other local workers have rendered invaluable help in getting out the thousands of circulars to the women householders of West Hull—the women who are debarred from the right to vote because they are women.

Although we have not officially visited Hull before, there can hardly be a doubt but that, as a result of the present campaign, Hull will soon have a W.S.P.U. of its own.

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. III.—From 1868 to 1871.

IN November, 1868, Lord Chief Justice Borlitt and his brethren had, as we have seen, decided that when Parliament passed the Representation of the People Act, in 1867, it had not been its intention to give votes to women.

Just seven months after this judicial pronouncement, Parliament, as though to put the judges in the wrong, and show its own belief in women's right to vote, accepted an amendment to include them under the provisions of the Municipal Franchise Act.

The women's claim to the municipal vote was an exact parallel to that in regard to the Parliamentary franchise.

Women had from time immemorial possessed and exercised the right to vote in all local affairs until the year 1835, when the introduction of the phrase "male persons" into the Municipal Corporation Act excluded them from the Municipal franchise, just as in 1832 the Parliamentary vote had been taken from them by the use of the same words.

The act of exclusion was the same, and its injustice equal in both cases, but its glaring nature was more easily demonstrated where it concerned the Municipal vote. There were at that time in England 78 non-corporate towns which were not Parliamentary boroughs, with populations varying from 20,000 to 6,000, where every ratepayer, man or woman, voted in all local elections. The government of these non-corporate towns was much the same as that of the municipal towns, where women might not vote. Yet as soon as a town became incorporated, its women ratepayers were disfranchised. All over the country women had the right to vote in the election of Poor-Law Guardians. They voted in parochial matters, and took part in vestry meetings called for the election of church wardens and way wardens, the appointment of overseers, and the sale of parish property.

It was testified by many persons, including Mr. Lings, the Comptroller for the city of Manchester, that in all cases where women had the right to vote, they used it, in proportion to their relative numbers on the register, in the same measure as it was exercised by men.

The committee of the Manchester Women's Suffrage Society saw in the introduction of a Bill by Mr. Hibbert dealing with the conditions of the municipal franchise an opportunity to press the women's claim.

Jacob Bright's Amendment.

Mr. Jacob Bright agreed to move an amendment to the Bill, securing to women the right to vote in municipal elections. The fullest possible information in regard to the ancient and existing rights of women to vote in local affairs was sent to every Member of Parliament, and the facts were embodied in petitions praying for the removal of the sex disability, which were signed and presented to both Houses of Parliament.

In the House of Commons on June 7, 1869, Mr. Jacob Bright moved that in this Act and the said recited Act (Municipal Corporation Act, 1835), wherever words occur which import the masculine gender, the same shall be held to include females for all purposes connected with and having reference to the election or power to elect representatives of any municipal corporation.

Mr. Bright said that he proposed to introduce no innovation, but in reality to remove one that had been brought in under the Act of 1835. He pointed out that that Act was the only Act in regard to local government and expenditure which had been passed either before or since that time, establishing the disability of sex, and men-

tioned that the Health of Town Act, passed in 1848, had a clause almost identical with the one he was moving.

The motion was passed without a word of dissent, Mr. Bruce (the Home Secretary) saying that the clause introduced no anomaly, and that he should give it his cordial support.

In the House of Lords the amendment was also carried without opposition, except on the part of Lord Redesdale, who failed to find a seconder. The Municipal Franchise Bill became law on August 2, 1869.

In spite of the fact that their great leader, John Stuart Mill, had been defeated in the preceding General Election, the Suffragists were now full of hope. The municipal franchise had been quickly won, and now that the legislature had thus formally recognised the principle of votes for women in popular elections, it was felt that the removal of the sex disability in regard to the Parliamentary vote must soon follow. A Bill with that object was, therefore, drafted by Dr. Pankhurst as follows:—

A Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women.—Be it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same as follows:—

1. That in all Acts relating to the qualification and registration of voters or persons entitled or claiming to be registered and to vote in the election of members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender, the same shall be held to include females for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to be registered as voters, and to vote in such election, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

This Bill was backed by Mr. Jacob Bright, Sir Charles Dilke, and Mr. E. B. Eastwick. Notice of the Bill was given on February 11, 1870, it was introduced on February 16, and on May 4 the second reading was moved by Mr. Jacob Bright, who spoke for over an hour. There was a good discussion, and a full House. The Bill was supported by Dr. Lyon Playfair, Sir Charles Dilke, Colonel Sykes, and Mr. Muntz. The previous question was moved by Mr. W. Fowler, Mr. Beresford Hope, and Sir Herbert Croft.

The Home Secretary (Mr. Bruce), on behalf of the Government, said that, owing to extreme pressure of business, he and his colleagues had not been able to give the question that full consideration which would have enabled them to express an opinion to guide the deliberations of the House, and that, therefore, he was unable to support the Bill, and, either personally or as a member, to express any opinion thereon.

Mr. Jacob Bright, in the course of his reply, stated that he had just received a telegram informing him that the Manchester Town Council had that day agreed to petition Parliament in favour of the measure.

The Speaker then put the question, and the House divided, with the result that 124 members voted for and 91 against the Bill, giving a favourable majority of 33. These figures were received with cheers, and, amid cheers, the Bill was read a second time.

Thus early in the struggle it seemed that women's citizenship was almost won. This verdict of a majority of the people's representatives when left free to vote in accordance with their own opinions, was, however, not pleasing to the powers that were. The Government departed from its neutral attitude. It issued an urgent whip against the Women's Bill, and when, on Friday, May 13, Jacob Bright moved for going into committee, Mr. Bouverie, Lord Elcho, Lord Garlies, Mr. Newdigate, and Mr. Gladstone himself were there to

oppose him. In face of this opposition, the Bill was lost by a majority of 126, 94 members voting for going into committee, and 220 against.

During the Session of 1870, between February 17 and July 28, 663 petitions, with 134,561 signatures, were presented to Parliament in support of votes for women*. Though the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill was not carried, the labours of the suffragists were in some measure rewarded, for under the Elementary Education Act of 1870 women were not only granted equal voting rights with men, but provision was also made for them to be elected as members of School Boards.

On February 13, 1871, the Women's Disabilities Bill was again introduced, and on May 3 the second reading was moved by Mr. Jacob Bright. Mr. Disraeli voted for the Bill, and two other members of the late Conservative Government spoke and voted for it, but it was again opposed by Mr. Gladstone, who said that, though he did not consider the present law perfect, he did not like the proposal for amending it. He thought that the personal attendance and intervention of women in election proceedings would be a practical evil of an intolerable character. He did not object to women voting in Municipal and School Board elections, or even to them sitting on School Boards. He admitted that there was a presumptive case for a change in the law. He further stated that in Italy the law qualified a woman to exercise the franchise if possessed of a qualification, subject to the condition that she should only exercise it through a deputy. He had never heard any conclusive reason why we should not borrow a hint from this Italian law. There was, he admitted, more presumptive ground for a change in the law than some of the opponents would allow, for there were various important particulars in which women obtained much less than justice. It might be said that there was no direct connection between them and the Parliamentary franchise, but, though this was true, he was by no means sure that these inequalities might not have an indirect connection with a state of law in which the balance was generally cast too much against women and too much in favour of men. In the whole chapter of legislation, where the irregular relations of men and women, and the consequences of those irregular relations, were concerned, the English law did women much less than justice, and great mischief, misery, and scandal resulted from that state of things in many occurrences and events of life.

Mr. Gladstone did not vote against the Bill, as in 1870, but left the House before the division took place.

The result of this division was: Ayes, 151; noes, 220. The second reading was, therefore, lost by 69.

Thus, for the second time, our legislators outvoted a measure of justice affecting half the population of the country at the bidding of one who acted not, as his own words tell us, from disbelief in the principle he was opposing, but from the antiquated, absurd, and degrading notion that the presence of his countrywomen at the Parliamentary polling booth would bring about some evil of an intolerable character.

(To be continued.)

In my article in the November number I notice the following printer's errors:—

The date of John Stuart Mill's return to Parliament was 1865 not 1863. 1865 was also the date of the formation of the first Manchester Women's Suffrage Committee.

In column two, in the last paragraph but one, it is stated that 3,000 Manchester women's claims to be put on the register were consolidated. This should read 5,000, or to be exact 5,346.

In the note at the foot of the same page "Miss Baker" refers to Miss Lydia E. Becker, secretary to the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage from August, 1867, to July, 1890.

E. S. P.

* NOTE.—The petitions in favour of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill in the Session of 1871 were 620, with 186,890 signatures. There was one petition against, with one signature.

WOMEN IN OTHER LANDS.

France.

THE agitation for securing votes for women is bringing this question more and more to the forefront of politics in France; and, just as the Married Women's Property Act, passed in the British Parliament in 1883, was the by-product of the vigorous Suffrage campaign that was going on at that time in Great Britain, and the inclusion of domestic servants in the Workmen's Compensation Act last year also, and recently the Women's Local Government Act, were the by-products of the present Suffrage agitation, so Frenchwomen are winning at last elementary rights for which they have long cried out in vain. The law which gives married women the right to their own earnings has at last passed its final stages in the Senate.

Iceland.

The Iceland Parliament has just reassembled, and has been met with a petition from 12,000 women demanding the Parliamentary franchise. The Government has announced its intention of presenting a Bill to Parliament for the enfranchisement of women.

Poland.

A Women's Suffrage Society has lately been formed in Poland. All women's societies or unions have been forbidden by law in Poland until two years ago; now the legal restrictions have been somewhat relaxed, though it is with great caution, and against immense difficulties, that the agitation for the vote can be carried on by women. "The Polish Women's Union for Equality of Rights" is organising meetings disseminating propaganda literature, getting signatures to petitions, and sending them to the Duma. They have issued a manifesto to women. Here is the English translation:—

POLISH WOMEN!

Behind us lies the past of dead slumber.

The needle of justice on the dial of liberty points to the hour of enfranchisement.

The woman with determined protest now throws behind her the slavish docility of her existence.

The woman cannot fulfil her duty of citizenship until her voice can determine the condition of those duties.

The woman wants to be a free mother, of a free generation.

The law which on the ground of sex disability does not call the woman to the ballot box is made by a minority of the people formed of men.

In the name of Truth, then, the law that casts women out of the legislative work of the country deadens the conscience of the people, lowers ethics and race hygiene in the community, becomes the basis of many injuries done to the human dignity of the woman.

We appeal to all Polish women to gather our strength to awaken in the conscience of the woman the sense of the great wrong which is done to her, and also to awaken in the conscience of the man the determination to cast from him the name and the reproach of the wrongdoer. Let us collect upon this appeal signatures from women and men to certify that we want a really democratic equal suffrage law, with direct secret ballot, without regard to sex, or creed, or race.

Norway.

A visitor from Norway came to the W.S.P.U. "At Home" at 4, Clements-inn, recently. Norway has the honour of being second amongst the European countries to give the elementary right of citizenship to women. Women got the vote easily, after a comparatively short campaign. We asked our visitor to explain how this happened.

"It was because of you women in England," she answered. "The Members of Parliament to whom I spoke about it said, 'If we don't take care, the women here will follow the example of those dreadful women in England. We had better give them a vote at once!' And they did."

Sweden.

Sweden seems to be running Norway pretty close. Six Bills dealing with Woman Suffrage have been introduced in the Swedish Parliament, and will be considered this Session. A very vigorous campaign is going on. Magazines are full of articles dealing with the question. Meetings are being held, and are being largely attended throughout the country. There is no newspaper campaign of misrepresentation and abuse against the women of Sweden. The Press is on the side of the Suffragists.

E. P. L.

THE MOVEMENT IN LONDON AND THE PROVINCES.

Chelsea W.S.P.U.—The union is arranging a jumble sale on December 12. They are anxious to make it a great success, so will friends kindly do their best towards helping by sending women's, children's and men's clothing, also boots and shoes, house-linen, curtains of all sorts, and other things that are useless to themselves to Miss M. D. Home, 7, Palace Gardens-terrace, W., and to Miss W. Mayo, 93, Oakley-street, Chelsea, S.W.

Clapham W.S.P.U.—Our local union held a very successful drawing-room meeting on November 5, at 185, King's-avenue, by kind invitation of Mrs. Richardson. There were not so many strangers present as had been expected, but those who came seemed impressed by the arguments brought forward. Miss N. E. Smith spoke of the impossibility of any real home life for any women engaged in the "sweated industries" and other underpaid work, and Miss Macauley spoke from the historical point of view, and defended the tactics. She pointed out the patience of women during the last 40 years, and asked, "Who but women would have exercised such patience, and who but fools would be patient any longer?" A good collection was taken and a fair amount of literature sold. The next monthly meeting will be held in a room at St. Ann's Hall, Venn-street, at the back of the Plough, Clapham, on December 12.

L. RICHARDSON.

Hammersmith W.S.P.U.—Our union broke fresh ground this week at Barnes, and held a public meeting, at which Miss Conolan and Miss Evelyn Sharp were the speakers. Both speakers and the chairman, Mrs. Lorisignol, rightly dwelt upon the need for the present tactics, and impressed the audience. Five names were handed in of people who wished to know more about the whole subject, and we hope to be able to form a union at Barnes. Future events are as follows:—November 29: Open-air meeting, Down Place, King-street. Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, 7.30. December 11: Public meeting, jointly with Chiswick W.S.P.U., at Chiswick Town Hall, 8 p.m. Miss Pankhurst, Miss Conolan, Mrs. Baldock, and in the chair Mrs. East.

F. E. ROWE.

Harrow-road W.S.P.U.—The rummage sale, which took place on November 4, was a great success, both as regards finance and propaganda. We cleared £7. We wish to thank all those who sent parcels to us, and also to thank those who so kindly came to help on the day of sale. Dr. Helen Jones was our speaker at a meeting for women on November 25, when 60 were present, and nine new members were made. On Tuesday, December 3, at 8 o'clock, we are holding our first big meeting in Paddington, Miss C. Pankhurst, Miss Conolan, and myself are to speak. We have engaged a big hall, which will seat 800, and we are working hard this week to make our first attempt a success.

L. C. CULLEN.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—We have held several successful Sunday afternoon meetings in November in Blackheath. On Sunday, November 17, we were tackled with a number of questions, prominent among which was, Why did not the Suffragettes tackle the Conservative party when in power? The answer given was to the effect that the present movement had not come into existence at that time. The members of the union only go to meetings where Cabinet Ministers were speaking. Unless they secure the vote, they will do the same in the event of the Tory or Labour party being in power.

London City W.S.P.U.—We have just issued a syllabus of our winter's work, and hope to carry on an active campaign in the centre of London. The syllabus is composed of "At Homes" (which are held in conjunction with the Thursday evening "At Homes," 4, Clement's-inn), lectures, open-air meetings, and business meetings. The first lecture was given by Miss Evelyn Sharp on Friday, November 15, at 8 o'clock. She spoke on "The Womanly Woman of Yesterday and Today," and was listened to with great interest. There was a good sale of literature, and eight new members were enrolled on the membership list. Our first open-air meeting was held in Regency-place, Westminster, on Friday, November 22, at 8 o'clock. A good crowd gathered and listened intently to the speeches of Dr. Jones and Miss Macauley. The audience expressed great approval when it was announced at the close of the meeting that we should be coming again on that day fort-

night. We shall be only too pleased to send our syllabus to anyone who applies for it, as we wish to keep people in touch with all our meetings.

JESSIE KENNEY.

Yorkshire Report.

Yorkshire has been thoroughly roused by the visits of two Cabinet Ministers.

In Sheffield, only women "guaranteed safe" were admitted to the Liberal meeting, so that the W.S.P.U. went down, headed by Miss Annie Kenney and myself, to meet Mr. Haldane at the railway station. We arrived nearly an hour before the time, but our presence was quickly made known, and the Chief Constable, many policemen, and the chairman of the Liberal Party, Sir Wm. Clegg, quickly arrived to protect Mr. Haldane. We have never been, I think, so courteously treated by the police, as we were placed inside the barrier, so as to be able to present a petition to Mr. Haldane.

This we did, but got no satisfaction, since the Secretary of State for War could give us no assurance that the Government would deal with the women's claims, and even refused to refer to the subject in his speech at night. He did so, however, when the time came, because two men interrupted the meeting for the women, and were put out with great violence. All the time the Liberal meeting was going on we were speaking from the steps, and the cheers from our audience could be clearly heard inside, where there was a remarkable scarcity of enthusiasm. Mr. Haldane "escaped by a back door" (to quote the newspapers), to avoid the attention of a hostile crowd.

But if we were baffled in Sheffield we had our revenge in Leeds, both Mr. Herbert Gladstone's meetings were spoiled by the women, but at the first he watched seven women being ejected with violence with a pleasant smile, and afterwards told the Press that the great thing was to "take no notice of the women."

Though we had many friends in the meeting there was such a crowd of people that they could not get to our help. One woman stayed right to the end, because she was surrounded by friends, and the stewards did not dare to turn her out.

On Friday night the promoters of the meeting separated the men and women, but four of them clambered over the seats, and took places at the back among our friends. When Mr. Gladstone entered he showed how little "he noticed the women" by starting right away on our question.

He said he had always been in favour (at which the audience laughed aloud), and began to lecture us about the methods, saying that the men had won the franchise by holding *orderly meetings*. "They went to Hyde Park," he began. "Yes, and pulled the railings down," called out one of the women.

"The Government won't be forced by a family party," said Mr. Gladstone.

"What?" replied the suffragettes, "One hundred and fifty-three women imprisoned. What a large family!"

"This agitation is carried on by a handful of hysterical women," he said again.

"What did you want the mounted police for then?" retorted the suffragettes.

"Mr. Gladstone is too responsible a Minister to be treated like this," said the chairman, but strange to say this announcement had no effect. "Give us the vote and we'll leave your meetings alone," the suffragettes assured the Home Secretary, who at last sat down in despair—though, as he told the Press afterwards, "he could easily have gone on, only he did not think it worth while."

Many of our women were ejected, and several times the stewards came in our direction; but as soon as they did the men all stood up round us, and the stewards withdrew. The chairman then assured the meeting that he did not want to use force.

Mr. Gladstone asked for questions. So I got up on my seat and asked one, but as no one could hear, I wrote it down and it was being passed along. Then, for some reason or other, the men began to fight one another, and Mr. Gladstone left the platform, and the meeting came to an end.

ADELA PANKHURST.

CAN Suffragist recommend BED-SITTING ROOM, near Law Courts, to Woman Suffragist. Sundays to Tuesday.—Terms to Hill Side, Lubbock-road, Chislehurst.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

EVERY department of our office work is progressing by leaps and bounds. Extension again is absolutely necessary. We are now going to double our premises. This means a liability for rent alone of £500. In view of the work contemplated early in the coming year in connection with the Parliament of Women, and because of the increasing amount of voluntary work to be organised, it is necessary to give the heads of our different departments the permanent assistance of younger clerks. All these developments mean heavy expenditure. Meanwhile, the militant campaign is achieving one triumph after another. Our army grows and becomes a more formidable force every day.

A day or two ago I received a letter from a very generous supporter of the movement, who has already given large contributions several times this year. She enclosed a cheque for £20. "The time has now come," she said, "to pour as much money as women can get together into this movement. We must neither stint nor spare at a crisis like this."

Every woman who cares for her freedom, which is now being won, must support the militant campaign with funds.

A Week of Self-Denial.

Following direct upon the Women's Parliament, which sits on February 11, 12, and 13, at Caxton Hall, the National Women's Social and Political Union calls upon every woman in the country who desires to play her part in women's fight for freedom, to practise real self-denial during the week beginning February 16 and ending February 22, and to send all the funds she can save, or earn, or collect, to the National Campaign Fund.

The funds raised during this week will be the measure not only of every woman's devotion to principle, but the measure of her gratitude to the hundreds of brave women who have taken the brunt of the fighting, and have suffered violence and imprisonment for her sake.

We ask every woman to do her best from now onwards until February 16, to make the idea of this week of self-denial known and understood amongst her women friends.

Women have embarked upon a crusade, a war of freedom. And every woman, whether she takes the fighting line or not, must make heroic sacrifice for this holy cause.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to December 31 (as far as at present arranged).

| | | | |
|---------|---|---|--------|
| Nov. 28 | London, 4, Clement's-Inn, "At Home" | Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 8 p.m. |
| | Birmingham, King's Heath | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Nell Kenny | 8 p.m. |
| | Men's Debating Society | Mrs. Pearce, Miss S. Pankhurst, Miss H. Fraser | 8 p.m. |
| | Sitting, Public Hall | Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Martel, Miss Keovil and others | 7.30 |
| | Hull, Beverley-road Baths, Mass Meeting | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence | 7.30 |
| Nov. 29 | Hull, Boulevard | Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 8 p.m. |
| Nov. 30 | Sheffield, Public Reception | Mrs. Baldock | 7 p.m. |
| | Nottingham University | Miss Helen Fraser | 3 p.m. |
| | Kensington Studio Meeting | Miss Lamb | 7 p.m. |
| Dec. 1 | Newmill Hall, Ayrshire | "At Home" | 4-6 |
| Dec. 2 | Nottingham Market Place | Speakers' Class, Miss Macaulay | 8 p.m. |
| Dec. 3 | London, 4, Clement's-Inn | Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Una Dugdale | 8 p.m. |
| | London, 4, Clement's-Inn | Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Bates | 8 p.m. |
| | Nottingham, Mechanics' Hall | Dr. Jones | 6.30 |
| Dec. 4 | Paddington | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 8 p.m. |
| Dec. 5 | Wood Green, "At Home" | Mrs. Martel, Miss Macaulay | 8 p.m. |
| | Unity Hall | "At Home" | 8 p.m. |
| | Huddersfield, Town Hall | Mrs. Pearce | 8 p.m. |
| Dec. 6 | Brighton, Music Room, Royal Pavilion | Mrs. Martel | 8 p.m. |
| | London, 4, Clement's-Inn | Miss H. Fraser | 8 p.m. |
| Dec. 7 | Glasgow, Langside Hall | Mrs. Drummond | 8 p.m. |
| Dec. 8 | Harrow-road, Co-operative Society | "At Home," Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 4-6 |
| Dec. 9 | Glasgow, Y.M.C.A., Partick | Speakers' Class, Miss Macaulay | 8 p.m. |
| | Woolwich, Congregational Guild | Miss H. Fraser | 8 p.m. |
| Dec. 10 | London, 4, Clement's-Inn | Miss Gawthorpe, Mr. Clarence Rook | 8 p.m. |
| | Kensington, Queen's Gate Hall | Mrs. Martel | 8 p.m. |
| | Public Meeting | Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 5-7 |
| Dec. 11 | Woodford Green, Essex | Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Baldock, Miss Conblan | 8 p.m. |
| | Hammeramith | Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 8 p.m. |
| Dec. 12 | Chilswick, Town Hall | "At Home" | 8 p.m. |
| Dec. 13 | Clapham, St. Anne's Hall, Venn-street | | 8 p.m. |
| | London, 4, Clement's-Inn | | 8 p.m. |

| | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------|
| Dec. 15 | London, 4, Clement's-Inn | "At Home" | 4-6 |
| | London, 4, Clement's-Inn | Speakers' Class, Miss Macaulay | 8 p.m. |
| | Glasgow, Literary Society, Langside | Miss H. Fraser | 8 p.m. |
| Dec. 19 | London, 4, Clement's-Inn | "At Home" | 8 p.m. |
| Dec. 23 | London, 4, Clement's-Inn | "At Home" | 3 p.m. |
| Dec. 30 | London, 4, Clement's-Inn | "At Home" | 3 p.m. |

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND TO NOVEMBER 23.

| Already acknowledged. | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---------------------------------|-------|----|----|----------------------------|----|----|----|
| Mrs. Kerwood | 2,940 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Symes | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Miss G. C. Hay | 1 | 0 | 0 | Miss Cecilia Mackenzie | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. A. Lamb | 0 | 10 | 0 | Miss Eileen M. Barton | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Miss Celia Mackenzie | 0 | 3 | 0 | Mrs. Garnett | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Brighton W.S.P.U. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Anon. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Horner, Esq. | 0 | 17 | 0 | Mrs. R. F. Smith | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Miss Wall | 0 | 3 | 0 | Mrs. Hansell | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mawer, J. B., Esq. | 1 | 4 | 0 | Miss Marquardt | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. C. H. Howse | 1 | 1 | 0 | Miss Sullivan | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Miss Elizabeth Robins | 0 | 5 | 0 | Mrs. W. J. Haig | 1 | 0 | 0 |
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| Mrs. Frances Swiney | 0 | 2 | 6 | Mrs. Nicolettes | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Anon. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Miss M. Smith | 0 | 10 | 0 |
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| Miss Anne Colby | 10 | 0 | 0 | Miss E. Hunter | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Miss Norah Musgrave | 0 | 2 | 6 | Miss Ellen Crocker | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Morris | 20 | 0 | 0 | Miss C. Hill | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Miss C. Briggs | 0 | 5 | 0 | Mrs. E. Wheatley | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Miss Macaulay's lecture fee | 1 | 0 | 0 | Arthur R. Allerton, Esq. | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Mrs. P. Lawrence's lecture fee | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. and Miss Stacey | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Miss Ansell | 1 | 1 | 0 | Mrs. Amy Montague | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Purchase of Button, per | 0 | 10 | 0 | Miss Kemp-Furner | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Miss Rose Wright | 0 | 5 | 0 | Mrs. Zoe M. Furneaux | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Harriet Kerr | 1 | 1 | 0 | Mrs. Dora Hooper | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mrs. Alice S. May | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. Singer | 10 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Julius Singer, Esq. | 0 | 10 | 6 | | | | |
| Miss Elsa Gye | 0 | 11 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Cecilia Clifford | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Clara Mordan | 100 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. Smith | 0 | 10 | 0 | | | | |
| Anon. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Sunday Society, Sheffield | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | | |
| Collecting card, per Mrs. Mosen | 0 | 3 | 6 | | | | |
| Mrs. Murchison | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| J. B. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. Maude Walenn | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Alice Heale | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Frances Milner | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. C. Bagnall | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Edith K. Grainger | 3 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Winifred Watson | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Ravenscroft | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Pauline Hull | 5 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. Snowman | 0 | 10 | 6 | | | | |
| Miss Juliette Heale | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. Larner | 2 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Georgina Brackenbury | 5 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Farquharson | 0 | 10 | 6 | | | | |
| Lady Harborton | 3 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. Talbot | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Allen | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Harriet Kerr | 3 | 19 | 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. Lawes | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| J. Turner, Esq. | 0 | 7 | 10 | | | | |
| Miss Helen Clarke | 5 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Mary Paine | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. Martin White | 20 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss E. May Pethick | 10 | 10 | 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. McLeod | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
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| Mrs. E. C. Lascelles | 10 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
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| Miss Rose O'Grady | 5 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Anon. | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Lillian Sheppard | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
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| Y. H. B. Society | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | |
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| Mrs. A. P. Monck-Mason | 5 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Ellen M. Walenn | 2 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. P. Lawrence, lecture fee | 2 | 2 | 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. Bouvier | 0 | 2 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Constance E. Maud | 0 | 2 | 0 | | | | |
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| Miss Rachel Neal | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | |
| Mrs. Lightman | 0 | 10 | 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. Gray | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
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| Mrs. Alice A. Earp | 0 | 1 | 0 |
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| Miss Ethel M. Birnstingl | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mrs. Alice Pollard | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Miss Joyce K. Pollard | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss Kathleen M. Dunkley | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss McLellan | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Miss R. Barrett | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Unknown | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Lillie E. Pickersgill | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mrs. Constance M. Harris | 0 | 1 | 0 |
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| Mrs. F. H. Conolly | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss M. Conolly | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss Edith E. Lord | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Miss Clara Thomas | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. M. E. Sleight | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mrs. Ada Galworthy | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss Linda Peters | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Alice Burton | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Mary Wheeler | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. H. Williams | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss Margaret Barry | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Prelooker | 0 | 2 | 6 |
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| Miss H. M. Townsend | 0 | 1 | 0 |
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SCOTTISH NOTES.

WE have had a busy week in Scotland. Last Monday evening Miss Isabel Seymour and myself, with Provost Gossop as chairman, with ex-Provost Ross and an array of the "City Fathers" supporting us, addressed a crowded meeting in the beautiful Town Hall of Inverness. Two or three hundred people were turned away at the doors, and those inside were intensely interested, and at the beginning critical. Before we finished they were quite enthusiastic, and Inverness promises to be a "converted" city, and to give us a splendid branch. To ex-Provost Ross we owe thanks for his very great help, and he and the town gave us quite a Highland welcome. It's the Fraser county, so it's specially pleasing to me to feel it is going to help well.

At Aberdeen, the night after we had a good meeting, Lady Ramsay and myself as speakers. The Aberdeen Union is very busy, and doing splendid work, and we hope soon to have the Northern Centre quite in working order. Mrs. Pearce had a good meeting on Monday with the Larkhall Co-operative Women.

At Linzie on Thursday evening Mrs. Billington-Greig and I spoke to a very large meeting arranged by Miss Kirby, who worked splendidly to make it so successful. Bailie Perry was an excellent chairman, and we had quite lively heckling.

The Langside Union had a meeting that evening also, and decided on future public meetings.

That morning Mr. Lloyd George received a deputation from the Woman Suffrage Association in Glasgow, to whom he gave a very delightful lecture against our methods (rather unkind, as they disapprove of them), and said he was a strong supporter—so strong a believer in women having votes, in fact, that he thought all women must have them, and for that reason was going to see no women got them. At least, that is what it amounted to.

This may delude women who are blindly partisan, but it merely amused women who see, and makes us all the more convinced that success lies in a strong continuance of our anti-Government policy.

HELEN FRASER.

MEMBERS' PLEDGE CARD.

WOMEN in all parts of the country who are not as yet definitely enrolled as members of the National Women's Social and Political Union are invited to sign the members' pledge card, which they can obtain from the offices, 4, Clements-Inn, and apply for membership. The pledge is as follows:—

I endorse the objects and methods of the Women's Social and Political Union, and I hereby undertake not to support the candidate of any political party at Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the Parliamentary vote.

There is no definite members' fee, but those who wish to be kept constantly in touch with the central organisation by correspondence are requested to give 1s. a year to cover postage. Subscriptions of larger amounts are urgently needed for the support of the movement.

Mr. Arnold Harris Mathew, the distinguished writer of "Woman Suffrage," published by Messrs. Jack, writes to thank us for the review of his book in last month's VOTES FOR WOMEN, and to say that the book can be obtained of all book-sellers, and also at all bookstalls, though not always as prominently displayed as anti-suffragist literature has been.

The book is also on sale at the offices of the W.S.P.U.

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Edited by
**FREDERICK.W.
& EMMELINE
PETHICK LAWRENCE**

Votes for Women

SUPPLEMENT. DECEMBER 12, 1907.

Price One Halfpenny.

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All communications intended for
THE EDITORS should be sent
direct to

**THE EDITORS,
"Votes for Women,"
4, Clement's Inn,
Strand, W.C.**

And should reach the office not
later than

FIRST POST SATURDAY
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paper

Telephone: 5550 Holborn.
Telegrams: "Wospolu, London."

**"Votes for Women" is issued
Monthly, Price 3d.**

A Weekly Supplement, price 1d., is issued on every
Thursday on which the monthly issue is not published.

The National Women's Social and Political Union.

OFFICE: 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND W.C.

Telegraphic Address—WOSPOLU, LONDON.

Hon. Auditor: A. G. SAYERS, Chartered Accountant, 19, Hanover Square, W.

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The N.W.S.P.U. appeals for the name and address of every Woman in the country, of whatever class or political creed, who is willing to unite and work actively for the removal of the present degrading political disability imposed upon women. The Union welcomes every helper, and needs a great staff of voluntary speakers and canvassers and workers, whose services can be organised in the ever-growing National Campaign, and who can assist in raising the Special Fund of £20,000 which is now needed to carry on and extend its present work.

THE Women's Parliament to be held in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on February 11, 12, and 13 is arousing keen interest. The provinces will be well represented; and we expect a very large attendance of women resident in London. The chair will be taken each afternoon at three o'clock by Mrs. Pankhurst. Tickets of admission are: Numbered and reserved, 2s. 6d.; unreserved and unnumbered, 6d. Each evening at eight o'clock there will be a public meeting for women only. Tickets are ready also for the great Women's Demonstration in the Albert Hall on March 19. This will be the first Albert Hall meeting for Women's Suffrage ever held. In order that it may be evidence of the demand for votes on the part of women, the meeting is to be for women only. The charges for admission will be: Stalls, 5s.; arena, 2s. 6d.; balcony and orchestra, 1s., all numbered and reserved; unnumbered gallery and upper orchestra, 6d.

Just before Parliament reassembles, a public meeting for women will be held in the Horticultural Hall, Westminster, on January 23rd, at eight o'clock. At this meeting we shall reiterate our demand for the extension of the franchise to women next Session. Tickets for numbered seats, 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., are now on sale at the office.

A course of five lectures on different aspects of the movement will be given in the Portman Rooms. On Tuesday, March 3, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak on "What the Woman Movement Means"; on March 10 a lecture will be given by Dr. Garrett Anderson; on March 24 Mrs. Pankhurst will speak on "The Importance of the Vote"; on March 31 there will be a lecture by Miss Elizabeth Robins; and on April 7 I shall speak on "Women and Practical Politics." The charge for numbered seats will be 5s. and 2s. 6d. each (£1 1s. and 10s. 6d. the course), and for unnumbered seats 1s. each. We hope that all our members will before Christmas take a supply of tickets for the Women's Parliament, the Albert Hall demonstration, and the other meetings, and that they will make a special effort during the holidays to dispose of them.

Provincial Demonstrations.

A number of important meetings will be held in the provinces after Christmas. At Hull on January 15 there is to be a demonstration in the Assembly Rooms. Another Town Hall meeting will be held in Birmingham on January 31. There will be a series of meetings in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and organisers will be busy in Lancashire and other parts of the country. Many meetings will be held in London in the new year, largely for the purpose of rousing women to attend the Women's Parliament.

The meeting in the Town Hall, Huddersfield, was very satisfactory. A small band of disturbers sat at the back of the hall, but the trouble they caused was greatly exaggerated by the Press. Nearly every hand was raised in support of the resolution, the only dissentients being half-a-dozen youths.

At Birmingham the debate on the methods of the Union was attended by a very large number of undergraduates. A large proportion of those voting against

the resolution were youths who appeared to object to the aims, as well as to the methods, of our Union, and to dislike strongly the idea of women enjoying fair play in political and social life.

The meeting in the Royal Pavilion at Brighton was, in spite of predictions to the contrary, perfectly orderly.

The Harrow Road Women's Co-operative Guild and the Woolwich Congregational Guild were addressed by representatives of the Union. London meetings have been held at Kensington, Chiswick, Clapham, and West Kensington.

Miss Macaulay will visit Ringwood, Hants, on December 14, where she will address a drawing-room meeting and a public meeting. Mrs. Pankhurst is to speak at a drawing-room meeting in the Grand Hotel, Aberdeen, on December 17, arranged by Mrs. Jameson, and a number of other meetings will be held during the next few days.

Recent protests were those at Maidstone, Chelmsford, Newington Green, Leeds, and Nottingham. In each place strong local interest and sympathy were aroused, and our intention is to re-visit the scene of every protest, in order to do educational work and to strengthen the impression already made.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

Wanted, 500 Hostesses.

WE are hoping to receive before New Year's Day shoals of letters from our members in London and suburbs offering hospitality to all the delegates from the provinces who are coming up to town to take part in the Women's Parliament on February 11, 12, and 13. We want them to receive a royal welcome. Many of them have never before set foot in London, and we want them to feel that this great city is full of friends, because it is full of women who are bound together by the greatest and surest bonds, the bonds of a common ideal and a noble purpose. We know that our London members will heartily respond to this appeal as they invariably respond to every demand that is put upon their generosity and personal service. But we urge them to respond quickly, and to send in their names at once to Miss Isabel Seymour, hon. sec., Hospitality Committee, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C. In due course every hostess will receive a letter from Miss Seymour, telling her who her guest is to be, and when she will arrive in London.

The Maidstone Protest.

CONSIDERABLE local interest and excitement were aroused in Maidstone and its neighbourhood last week by the militant tactics of the suffragettes. At Earl Carrington's meeting infinite care had been taken to prevent all or any militant suffragists from getting in, and the police were well in evidence at the doors. Nothing daunted, however, the suffragettes proceeded to hold meetings of their own in Earl's street and outside the Sessions House. Members of the local Independent Labour Party were warm in their support and encouragement of the ladies, and a meeting was speedily arranged at Brewer-street Working Men's Club. This meeting was addressed by Miss Macaulay, and her speech was reproduced at length in the "Maidstone and Kentish Journal." Local reporters followed the suffragettes to the Working Men's Club, and, after a string of questions, elicited from them the unqualified statement "that wherever a Cabinet Minister speaks, we shall attempt to get a hearing, and, if we cannot, we shall protest outside, as we did to-night."

WORK IN HULL.

THE first fruits of our work in the Hull by-election were gathered when, on the 3rd inst., a highly successful meeting of sympathisers was held in the Grosvenor Hotel. A provisional committee was formed, with Miss Harrison, 14, Welbeck-street, and Mrs. Scolah, A542, Hessle-road, as hon. sec. and hon. treasurer pro tem. respectively. The immediate work in hand is the prospective demonstration to be held in the Assembly Rooms on January 15 of the New Year. A committee meeting has also been held, and the work is now well in hand, both of the local papers giving encouraging preliminary notices.

On the night of the first of these meetings we noted quite accidentally that the Junior Liberals were meeting simultaneously in another part of the same building. After consultation, we decided to seize what might prove a golden opportunity of putting before the adherents of the present Government and supporters of the Liberal nominee in the recent by-election the case for the "tactics" employed by the militant suffragists. I sent a note to the chairman, offering, when business was mutually finished, to give a few minutes to them. The offer was accepted, and Mrs. Chatterton and I spent a profitable and lively hour in the enemy's camp. It was a case of two women versus the massed forces of the Hull Liberals, for the Junior Liberals are "Junior" in name only. However, suffragettes do not mind fighting on such terms. The local Liberal paper claimed that no converts to the tactics had been made, but this counts for nothing, since one could hardly expect an acknowledgment on such lines, but both Mrs. Chatterton and I felt real good had been done, and that the staple conversation in many Liberal homes the ensuing days would be "Tactics"! It was noticeable, too, that we had plenty of support even in this stronghold of Liberalism. I have already sent a parcel of leaflets to the chairman, to keep up the pressure. In a little while, maybe, the Liberal rank and file will realise that, after all, we are on the track of the Government, and may awaken to the knowledge that they can stop disturbances at their meetings by forcing that Government to listen to them and to us.

On the 2nd inst. I addressed a "Pleasant Monday Evening" (P.M.E.) of women at the Unitarian Church on the vote as affecting the home. It was well worth while and gratifying indeed to hear that experienced suffragists were thereby converted to the tactics of the suffragettes.

I have been also in Leeds, helping Adela Pankhurst to arrange the well-merited protest against John Burns, who wants to limit women's labour in the industrial world without their consent.

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

Women Graduates Decide to Appeal.

THE committee of Women Graduates of the Scottish Universities (Parliamentary Franchise) held on Saturday their first meeting since the recent adverse decision of the Inner House of the Court of Session. It was attended by representatives of the Universities of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, the Aberdeen representative being unavoidably prevented from attending. It was decided to appeal to the House of Lords, as the only means of arriving at a decision which is legally conclusive. Arrangements are being made to collect funds for the purpose of the appeal.

A Way to Help.

To the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

SIR AND MADAM,—The £20,000 Fund would be augmented, and our cause be more widely known, if its supporters would refuse, and persuade other women to refuse, all contributions, even the smallest, to charities, and state that, until women have the Parliamentary vote, they intend to contribute only towards forwarding that object.

Why should women give to churches, chapels, societies, and institutions in the management of which they usually have little, if any, real influence? It would be time enough to return to this form of giving when we have secured the right to vote.

Please find enclosed a small annual subscription I have refused to continue for above reasons.

Yours truly,

A. E. W.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH INTERVIEWED.

AN effective protest was made at Lord Tweedmouth's meeting on Tuesday, December 3. A number of women rose during the meeting to express the dissatisfaction of the women at the attitude of the Government. They were ejected. After the meeting several of the women went to the railway station from which Lord Tweedmouth was leaving for London. The "Essex County Chronicle" describes the incident as follows:—

Mrs. Drummond at once approached his lordship, and her colleagues followed, and in the twinkling of an eye the First Lord and the ladies were engaged in an animated argument.

"Lord Tweedmouth," said Mrs. Drummond, "you ought to have heard the crowd cheering us at our meeting when we were put out of yours. Now, what are you going to do for us? It is, I suppose, the Cabinet that bars the way?"

Lord Tweedmouth: "You must have patience."

"Patience!" exclaimed Mrs. Drummond, "we have had patience for forty years."

"But," said Lord Tweedmouth, "we have done a lot for you, and, you know, women are different from men."

"How different?" inquired Mrs. Drummond.

Lord Tweedmouth: "Well, Nature has made a difference in the sexes for one thing, and women do not go out to be soldiers, sailors, and policemen."

"No," said Mrs. Drummond, "but we will be soldiers. I am ready to fight, and I come of a fishing family. I have pulled in a net of fish at midnight, and can lug a sail with anyone."

Lord Tweedmouth: "Well, I was prepared to argue with you at the meeting."

"Then, my dear, why didn't you hold up your hand and say you were ready to do so?" retorted Mrs. Drummond. "If you had held up your hand they would not have put us out. You are not brave enough, Lord Tweedmouth. We want brave men. But our cause is making rapid strides."

Lord Tweedmouth: "Surely you have as many Conservative sympathisers as Liberal?"

Miss Drummond: "Yes; and if the Tories were in power it would be the same with them. We should interrupt their meetings in the same way until we got what we wanted. Why don't you Liberals give it us and score? Depend upon it, if you lose the opportunity you will regret it. Now, is our cause just, and, coming to practical politics, now we've got you here, what are you going to do for us?"

Lord Tweedmouth: "When it is decided by the country that women shall sit in Parliament, I will give you the vote."

Mrs. Drummond: "Why not now? Where's the difference?"

Lord Tweedmouth: "Oh, there is a difference, and I tell you frankly I don't think your tactics are likely to secure you sympathy."

Mrs. Drummond: "What else are we to do? Was ever anything won without fighting for it? If we have ever so successful a meeting of our own the papers take little or no notice of it, but if we break up one of yours, my word! we get a column. You see?"

The train steamed in, and Lord Tweedmouth, bowing to the ladies, proceeded to his carriage, and was carried away to London.

Our Christmas Card.

WE would remind readers and friends that a special Christmas card has been published by the W.S.P.U. The card—an excellent sample of artistic printing—bears a direct and earnest message to all to whom progress is something more than a name. We append the words of the greeting:—

Greetings and Good Wishes for 1908.

Then from the Throne of God, that Throne where the weary have refuge,

Where, in the midst of distress, there is calm, that mandate is uttered—

Mandate not uttered alone that day for the thousands of Judah, But to all ages addressed, and to all generations—"Go forward"! Forward, when all seems lost, and the cause looks utterly hopeless; Forward, when brave hearts fail, and to yield is the rede of the coward;

Forward, when friends fall off, and enemies gather around thee; Thou, though alone with thy God, alone in thy courage, go forward,

Help, though deferred, shall arrive; ere morn the night is at darkest.

NEALE'S "EGYPT."

The price of the cards is 1d. each, or 10s. per 100. Orders should be promptly forwarded to W.S.P.U. offices, 4, Clement's-inn.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

THE meeting at Newmilns was large and appreciative—and, as a result, I am booked for Darvel in February, when I hope we shall get that district worked up.

Helensburgh was greatly interested as a result of our drawing-room meeting, and Miss Eunice Murray speaks at another this week at Kannoeh Lodge. Mrs. Kennedy is busy supplying everyone with literature, and interesting them more thoroughly in the subject.

Stirling is also going to take an active part, and promises well.

Mrs. Pearce's address in Langside Hall, on Thursday, evoked lively discussion, and was greatly appreciated.

On Friday evening I spoke at Partick Y.M.C.A.—and succeeded in getting many converts—even converting one gentleman who plaintively inquired "Why we had not harassed the Conservatives?"

Miss Phillips is working up the East Fife district and arranging future meetings. I should also have gone, but have this week five engagements to speak. On Monday, December 2, the Right Hon. John Sinclair was heckled at Kirkintilloch—and, after some pertinent interjections, promised to deal with the question at the end of his speech. Instead of doing so, he fled ignominiously—amid the laughter, cheers, and shouts of "Answer the question" and "Shame." He has not enhanced his reputation by making himself ridiculous, and letters in the "Glasgow Herald," headed "Mr. Sinclair's Flight," with notes about local Conservatives, and little jokes at his expense, have appeared. As a result, local suffragists have asked both Miss Phillips and myself to come down and speak there on December 26, when we shall probably have a lively meeting.

HELEN FRASER.

LONDON AND THE PROVINCES.

Brighton W.S.P.U.—Our local Union held a successful meeting, at the Royal Pavilion, on 5th inst. The speakers were Mrs. Martel and Miss Macaulay. After the disturbance at Mr. McKenna's meeting at the Dome, precautions were taken to ensure the speakers a fair hearing. The quiet tone of the meeting probably explains the scant notice in the local paper next day, quite different from a recent report of our "disturbances and shrieks" at the Dome. Miss Macaulay went straight to the hearts of her hearers. She told of the woman's right to vote lost 75 years ago, and the long constitutional struggle since, which had resulted in nothing, and added "that no one but fools would be patient any longer."

Mrs. Martel took up the history of the woman's vote in Australia, and showed how the woman's vote in that country had already done good. The speaker said it was generally thought that women could not see far ahead, could not think imperially, but the women of Australia had wiped out sweating since they got the vote.

A vote of thanks to the speakers was proposed and seconded. After the meeting, Mrs. Martel went among the audience, and she and the members of the local Union talked to a number of the people, and were successful in gaining several new members and sympathisers to the cause. Requests that Mrs. Martel should come again were made, and the secretary of the "Men's League" invited her to come and speak for them.

ISABELLA G. MCKEOWN, Hon. Sec.

Hammersmith W.S.P.U.—Following the public meeting held a fortnight ago, a drawing-room meeting was held on Thursday, the 5th. A good many who had been at the public meeting attended, and the account we gave them of the work of the Union aroused considerable interest, with the result that from among the audience a secretary and treasurer for the Barnes W.S.P.U. volunteered. Several others became members, and immediate steps are to be taken to begin work in the new district.

F. E. ROWE.

The Huddersfield W.S.P.U. organised a magnificent meeting in the Sheffield Town Hall, which was addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst. Mrs. Willson, of Halifax, presided. The hall was very full, and some little disturbance, caused by a few youths, who were removed by the police, occurred at the back. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, speaking first, dealt with the reasons why women claim the right to vote, and the need of improvement in their

social and industrial condition. She made a stirring appeal to the women to give their services and their money to the cause. Miss Christabel Pankhurst dealt with the tactics of the W.S.P.U. She pointed out that Mr. Asquith, in condemning our methods, laid great stress on our preventing the right of free speech in Liberal meetings; but she pointed out that the right to the vote was so much greater than the right to free speech, and so long as Mr. Asquith prevented our getting the right to the vote, we were perfectly justified in preventing his right to free speech.

I spent last week in Sheffield and Leeds—in Sheffield preparing a series of meetings and fortnightly "At Homes," to begin on January 20, and planning a demonstration to take place in the Albert Hall, Sheffield, in March.

In Leeds Miss Sidley and I were busy organising the protest at the Liberal meeting in the Coliseum on the 9th. Miss Gawthorpe joined us on Friday, and took charge of the protest meeting outside the Coliseum on Monday night. Many Leeds women are taking part in the work.

ADELA PANKHURST.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—The meetings on Blackheath will, for the present, be suspended, as the weather and the exposed position of Whitfield's Mount are alike against open-air propagandism. There was a large attendance at the last meeting, and the speakers did their best, in spite of rough winds and rowdy youths. Miss K. Manson had a short letter in a local newspaper re suffragette tactics, to which was appended an editorial note about three times as long as the letter itself. Another member of the Lewisham branch tackled Mr. Lewis Harcourt when lecturing on Small Holdings at "The Tribune" Rendezvous. The lady asked whether the lecturer did not consider the question of the franchise for women as far more important than Small Holdings, but the reply evoked, conspicuous for its vagueness, entirely shelved the direct question.

The Streatham and Brixton W.S.P.U. held a meeting on Friday, December 5, at 19, Loughborough-road, Brixton. It was well attended, and considerable discussion followed the speeches. Miss New told how, following the recognised militant methods of the Union, she has disturbed and been ejected from various meetings held by Cabinet Ministers. Miss New was supported by Miss McArthur, who spoke as to the unreliable nature of newspaper reports. A drawing-room meeting will be held on the 20th inst., at the house of Mrs. Tanner, who is chairman of the Brixton Branch Committee.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND.

December 2 to December 9, 1907.

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|--------------------------------------|-------|----|----|-------------------------------|--------|----|----|
| Already acknowledged | 3,704 | 6 | 11 | Miss Lottie Kilbuck | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Miss Jessie E. Carter | 0 | 5 | 0 | W. G. Smith, Esq. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Miss K. Pow | 0 | 10 | 0 | Dr. Marie L. Pethick | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Miss Barnett | 0 | 10 | 0 | Miss Nellie Kenney | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Glasgow Men's League | 4 | 4 | 0 | | | | |
| E. Wynne Humphreys, Esq. | 0 | 5 | 0 | Members' Postage Fees. | | | |
| J. A. Lucas, Esq. | 0 | 5 | 0 | Miss Mary Robertson | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| The Misses Newton | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Hill-Burton Rodger | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. R. E. Prothero | 5 | 0 | 0 | Miss Constance Wheaton | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mrs. Ernestine Mills | 1 | 1 | 0 | Mrs. A. Ham | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Eates | 0 | 10 | 6 | Miss Hunt | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| The Students Midland Baptist College | 0 | 10 | 6 | Mrs. Dora Hooper | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss Mary G. Houston | 0 | 10 | 6 | Miss Emma Sullier | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. and Mrs. F. W. Pethick | | | | Collections, &c. | 1 | 19 | 4 |
| Lawrence (instalment) | 200 | 0 | 0 | Guarantee fund (2 weeks) | 0 | 9 | 6 |
| Mrs. A. E. Willson | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | | |
| | | | | Total | £3,934 | 1 | 94 |

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to December 31 (as far as at present arranged).

| | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------|
| Dec. 12 (Thurs.) | Clapham, St. Anne's Hall, Venn street | Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 8 p.m. |
| Dec. 14 (Sat.) | London, 4, Clement's-inn | "At Home" Miss Macaulay | 8 p.m. |
| Dec. 16 (Mon.) | London, 4, Clement's-inn | "At Home" Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 4-6 |
| Dec. 17 (Tues.) | London, 4, Clement's-inn | Speakers' Class, Miss Macaulay | 8 p.m. |
| Dec. 19 (Thurs.) | Glasgow, Literary Society, Langside | Miss H. Fraser | 7.30 |
| Dec. 21 (Mon.) | Aberdeen, Grand Hotel | Mrs. Pankhurst | |
| Dec. 23 (Mon.) | London, 4, Clement's-inn | "At Home" Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 8 p.m. |
| Dec. 25 (Mon.) | London, 4, Clement's-inn | "At Home" | 4 p.m. |
| Dec. 30 (Mon.) | London, 4, Clement's-inn | "At Home" | 4 p.m. |

Printed by THE ST. CLEMENTS PRESS, LIMITED, Newspaper Buildings, Portugal Street, Kingsway, London, W.C., and Published for the Proprietors at 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

VOICES FOR WOMEN

Edited by
**FREDERICK W.
& EMMELINE
PETHICK LAWRENCE**

Votes for Women

SUPPLEMENT. DECEMBER 19, 1907.

Price One Halfpenny.

NOTICE.

All communications intended for
THE EDITORS should be sent
direct to

THE EDITORS,
"Votes for Women,"
4, Clement's Inn,
Strand, W.C.

And should reach the office not
later than

FIRST POST SATURDAY
prior to the publication of the
paper

Telephone: 8550 Holborn.

Telegrams: "Wospotu, London."

"Votes for Women" is issued
Monthly, Price 3d.

A Weekly Supplement, price 3d., is issued on every
Thursday on which the monthly issue is not published.

The National Women's Social and Political Union.

Telegraphic Address—WOSPOLU, LONDON.
Hon. Auditor: A. G. SAYERS, Chartered Accountant, 19, Hanover Square, W.

OFFICE: 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND W.C.

Telephone—5550 Holborn.
Bankers: MESSRS. BARCLAY & CO., 19, Fleet Street, E.C.

COMMITTEE:

MRS. PANKHURST, *Founder and Hon. Sec.* MRS. TUCK, *Joint Hon. Sec.* MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE, *Hon. Treasurer.* MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, *Organising Sec.*
MRS. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY. MISS ANNIE KENNEY. MISS MARY NEAL. MISS MARY GAWTHORPE. MRS. N. A. MARTEL. MISS ELIZABETH ROBINS.

The N.W.S.P.U. appeals for the name and address of every Woman in the country, of whatever class or political creed, who is willing to unite and work actively for the removal of the present degrading political disability imposed upon women. The Union welcomes every helper, and needs a great staff of voluntary speakers and canvassers and workers, whose services can be organised in the ever-growing National Campaign, and who can assist in raising the Special Fund of £20,000 which is now needed to carry on and extend its present work.

A Parliamentary vacancy has occurred in Mid-Devon, and we have already begun our campaign of opposition to the Government nominee. The first two meetings were held in the Market Place, Newton Abbot, on Saturday, December 14. A letter sent to the local Press announcing our arrival brought together a large audience. In a few moments we made them see the justice of our claim to vote, but as Newton Abbot is a Liberal stronghold, it was less easy to win their approval of our bye-election policy. The evening meeting was very large. Irate Liberals attended in force and asked questions simultaneously. Accordingly the meeting was at first rather turbulent, but later on, seeing that we were prepared with a reply to every question, and that our attitude in regard to the Government was reasonable, the audience became perfectly quiet, and we felt we had every reason to be satisfied with our first day's work. Miss Lamb and Miss Gye remain in the constituency for the present, and reinforcements will be sent in a few days. The constituency comprises amongst other places Teignmouth, Dawlish, and Newton Abbot. The Liberal majority at the General Election was 1,219, so that to secure the defeat of the Government candidate we shall have to turn rather more than 600 votes. This should not prove too difficult a task.

Coming Bye-Elections.

Other bye-elections are expected after Christmas; indeed, a miniature General Election is foretold, so that our Union will be very busy during the next few weeks. Apart from bye-election campaigns the principal work after Christmas will be the holding of women's meetings, with a view to securing a large attendance at the Women's Parliament in Caxton Hall on February 11, 12, and 13. A crowded and enthusiastic gathering of women prepared for action will make all the difference to our prospects for the coming session. Letters are being sent to every local union and to all members and friends in London and the Provinces urging that special efforts be made to ensure the success of the Women's Parliament. We hope that our friends will also bear in mind the great Albert Hall demonstration on March 19.

Some successful public meetings have been held during the last few days. Interruptions by students have been somewhat troublesome to the speakers, but they have also had the happy effect of rousing the women in the audience, and of ensuring the insertion of Press reports of the proceedings. Naturally people who have come to hear the statement of our case are disappointed, for noisy interruptions render this difficult; but, nevertheless, the action of our interrupters, which is due apparently more to a spirit of mischief than to a feeling of opposition to our cause, brings us sympathy.

Forthcoming meetings include those at Aberdeen, Bovey Tracey, Teignmouth, Newton Abbot, Birmingham, and Glasgow. The Monday "At Homes" at Clements Inn will go on without intermission during the

Christmas holidays; and after January 27, these "At Homes" will be held in the Portman Rooms, as the attendance is now so large that the office at Clements Inn does not afford sufficient accommodation for our guests.

Elsewhere appear accounts of protests made at Nottingham, Cambridge, and in Mr. Harcourt's constituency.

A course of five lectures on different aspects of the movement will be given in the Portman Rooms. On Tuesday, March 3, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak on "What the Woman Movement Means"; on March 10 a lecture will be given by Dr. Garrett Anderson; on March 24 Mrs. Pankhurst will speak on "The Importance of the Vote"; on March 31 there will be a lecture by Miss Elizabeth Robins; and on April 7 I shall speak on "Women and Practical Politics." The charge for numbered seats will be 5s. and 2s. 6d. each (£1 1s. and 10s. 6d. the course), and for unnumbered seats 1s. each.

Our autumn campaign of protest has been more successful in arresting public attention and in bringing pressure to bear upon the Cabinet than we could have hoped. The Committee are deeply grateful to all those who have, at great personal sacrifice, taken part in this all-important work. Similar action will be necessary in the new year, and we hope that every member of the Union will be prepared to co-operate with us.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

A Reminder.

Members and friends who live in London and the suburbs should bear in mind that hostesses are wanted to accord hospitality to the delegates who are coming to take part in the Women's Parliament on February 11, 12, and 13. We urge all ladies who can help in this way to at once send in their names to Miss Isabel Seymour, hon. sec., Hospitality Committee, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C. In due course every hostess will receive a letter from Miss Seymour, telling her who her guest is to be, and when she will arrive in London.

PROTEST AT CAMBRIDGE.

M R. HALDANE'S visit to Cambridge on Friday to deliver his presidential address to members of the local Liberal associations evoked considerable excitement, for the local suffragettes were well prepared for his advent into the town. The doors of the Guildhall, where he was speaking, were besieged with earnest and determined women, and protesting leaflets were freely distributed at each of the entrances. An enormous crowd, in spite of very bad weather, assembled outside, and Mrs. Drummond, Miss New, and Miss Bonwick had little fault to find with the tone and bearing of their hearers. A noteworthy feature of the meeting was the appreciative attitude of the large number of undergraduates, who listened to the ladies with the closest interest.

The protest outside his meeting was not the only trial Mr. Haldane had to endure. Wherever he turned he met protesting women, and on three or four separate occasions had to deal direct with women demanding a reason for their exclusion from the franchise. Even the sacred walls of the Liberal Club could not shield him, for there Mrs. Drummond and others found him, and were swift to avail themselves of the opportunity of driving the argument home.

Our Tactics.

A tribute to the political value of the tactics of the W.S.P.U. is evidenced by the following significant statements which, under bold headlines, appeared in the *Observer* on Sunday last:—

The repeated attacks of the Suffragettes on Cabinet Ministers are causing serious concern to the Liberal leaders and organisers.

In all his speeches every Cabinet Minister is harried and interrupted, so that a reasoned argument becomes almost impossible. The Minister gets through his speech, one way or another, but the thread of his argument is constantly broken by the distraction of an eviction. It is an unsatisfactory business, even so far as the effects of the speech on the people who actually hear it are concerned. But the results are infinitely more disturbing when it is remembered that a speech is delivered not only to the people who hear it, but to the entire nation of newspaper readers. Nowadays, for the most part, a newspaper report of a Minister's speech consists of a thin skeleton of argument, only set up for the purpose of being clothed with vivid descriptions of the women being evicted from the meeting. The nation is entertained, but it is not instructed.

The straits to which the party has been put are illustrated by the following instructive handbill, which was issued to the stewards of the meeting addressed by Mr. Asquith at Nottingham on Tuesday. So that none of its subtle flavour be lost, we give the handbill in full.

Space prevents our reproduction of this elaborate handbill, but the gist of it was as follows:—Under no pretence was any person to be admitted minus a ticket. At three doors men only were to be admitted; at the fourth women only. Not only were the various tickets minutely described as to their colour, but the stewards were expected to recognise at a glance the different colours of the ink used in printing them. Free seaters, all of them men, had to be armed with green and orange tickets. Stewards at each door were to have a tablet announcing that the hall was full, ready to use as soon all seats were occupied. Disturbances were anticipated and allowed for, and instructions were issued that such folk were to be removed as quickly, but as gently, as possible, &c., &c., &c. Yet the *Observer* shrewdly remarks, that "in spite of these precautions, there were many interruptions, and several ladies were turned out."

A Lady Councillor for London.

MISS R. E. LAWRENCE, LL.B., has been elected a member of the Hampstead Borough Council. The lady secured 319 votes, as against the 129 given to her male opponent. Miss Lawrence, who was nominated by the Hampstead Women's Local Government Association, has done good work as a member of the Distress Committee, and she now holds the proud distinction of being the first lady councillor in the Metropolitan area.

Protest at Radcliffe.

Suffragists turned up in force last Friday evening to meet Mr. Lewis Harcourt when addressing his constituents at Radcliffe in the Rosendale Division. The most careful precautions had been taken to exclude any likely disturbers, but, in spite of these, the meeting had hardly commenced when protesting ladies began to make themselves heard. The speaker was defending the work of the Government and blaming the House of Lords for work not completed when he was assailed with: "But what about votes for women?" After a passage of arms between the speaker and one lady, Mr. Harcourt endeavoured to proceed, when a male voice called out: "Are you in favour of taxation without representation?" Considerable confusion and uproar followed, and the Liberal section of the audience endeavoured to improve matters by singing the suffragettes down. One man was roughly ejected from the hall, and the police put in an appearance. For a time something like order was restored, and Mr. Harcourt was impressing upon his audience how valuable was the work already achieved by the Government when a lady interrupted with: "If you can do all this, why didn't you carry the Woman's Suffrage Bill?" More argument between the speaker and the suffragists followed, and a remark made by Mr. Harcourt that Mr. Balfour was elusive was replied to by a lady with: "You, too, are elusive on the votes for women question." Finally, the lady was forcibly put out of the hall. The speaker was congratulating himself and his audience on the courtesy they had extended to the interrupter when a male voice reminded him that, nevertheless, the speaker had not answered the lady's question.

JOHN BURNS ANSWERED.

THE *Saturday Review* of last week provides a fine counterblast to John Burns' recent appeal to the gallery in the following:—

Mr. Burns is the latest hero in the fight the Government are making against the women franchise movement. He came to the aid of Mr. Herbert Gladstone at Leeds on Monday, and thwacked and banged away in a great speech. "Johnnie Burns is the man. He'll stand no nonsense. There's none of the fine gentleman about him. It's a pity there are not more of his kind in the Government." It is easy to imagine the young bloods of the National Liberal Club saying this to each other after reading Mr. Burns' speech. But we wonder what they said at Brooks's? At Brooks's we are quite sure they would blackball a candidate who was in the habit of addressing women as "Miss." "Look at me, Miss," exclaimed Mr. Burns to an interrupter at the Leeds meeting—"it's all right, I'm a married man." (Great laughter.) The stewards, however, flung her out, and followed up this success by flinging a man out as well. "He's gone to join his sweetheart," roared Mr. Burns—a sally which brought down the house.

This sort of thing may pay with ostlers and with the boozier kind of Liberal, but we are much mistaken if it will be liked by some of the "Whigs" in the Government. We fancy they will not in a hurry ask Mr. Burns to get on the platform with them when there is risk of the women suffrage party interrupting.

Sir E. Carson and the Suffragettes.

Speaking at Macclesfield on Saturday last, Sir Edward Carson remarked that "the Government loved a law-breaker, and if his hearers did not believe his charge against the Government, they should ask the suffragists. They knew that the only way to make progress with this Government was to give them a hot time, and they were doing it."

A Week of Self-Denial.

Following direct upon the Women's Parliament, which sits on February 11, 12, and 13, at Caxton Hall, the National Women's Social and Political Union calls upon every woman in the country who desires to play her part in women's fight for freedom, to practise real self-denial during the week beginning February 16 and ending February 22, and to send all the funds she can save, or earn, or collect, to the National Campaign Fund.

The funds raised during this week will be the measure not only of every woman's devotion to principle, but the measure of her gratitude to the hundreds of brave women who have taken the brunt of the fighting, and have suffered violence and imprisonment for her sake.

We ask every woman to do her best from now onwards until February 16, to make the idea of this week of self-denial known and understood amongst her women friends.

Women have embarked upon a crusade, a war of freedom. And every woman, whether she takes the fighting line or not, must make heroic sacrifice for this holy cause.

YOU CAN OBTAIN "VOTES FOR WOMEN"

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The Publisher, "VOTES FOR WOMEN,"

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Yearly Subscription, 4/- post free (or with Weekly Supplements, 7/4).

SCOTTISH NOTES.

MISS MARY PHILLIPS is doing well in East Fife—getting subscribers and helpers, writing letters to the Dundee Press, and arranging for a series of meetings in January. Miss Phillips considers East Fife very promising ground; so much, indeed, that she is looking forward to explaining in his own constituency why we worry Mr. Asquith at his meetings.

The week's meetings have been decidedly good. Tuesday's meeting at Coatbridge, when Mrs. Pearce and I spoke for the N.W. Lanarkshire Unionist Association, was successful and enthusiastic, and we were asked to come again soon. On Monday we had a very good meeting in Hillhead Burgh Hall, with Dr. Marion Gilchrist in the chair. At this meeting future work was thoroughly discussed.

Wednesday evening was a lively time, for the students displayed the usual "high spirits" they consider necessary to impress us. The discussion was very lively, and I had an opportunity of supporting, as did Mr. J. L. Watson, Mr. G. S. Fraser, and Mr. Ralph Brown. On this occasion our opponents were all quite young, and their arguments practically consisted of a profound conviction of the superiority of the male.

Mr. Ure, Solicitor-General for Scotland, on Thursday evening promised, in reply to a question, to do his best to press the question in the Ministry.

My most important piece of news this week is that several of our Glasgow friends, Miss Grace Paterson, Miss Burnett, Miss Underwood, Dr. Marion Gilchrist, Mrs. Pearce, and Miss Levenston, &c., have decided that we must have larger offices for the work here, and have taken some in Cockburn Buildings, Bath-street. This is a capital position, and we shall occupy them almost immediately.

We shall have weekly "At Homes" as in London, evening meetings, &c., and the work will grow enormously.

HELEN FRASER.

LONDON AND THE PROVINCES.

Chiswick W.S.P.U.—The Hammersmith Union combined with Chiswick to hold a public meeting on December 11 in the Chiswick Town Hall. The gallery was taken possession of at an early hour by a mob of youths and men who paid 6d. or 1s. each for the pleasure of shouting down the ladies on the platform. In this they did not succeed. The speakers were Miss Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baldock, and Miss Conolan, and they spoke steadily on through the din, as did Mrs. East, the chairman. Happily the well-behaved section of the audience strongly supported the speakers. Another meeting will be held soon to explain to disturbers the difference between interruption used as the only political weapon of the non-voter and the interruption undertaken for fun by those whose rowdy instincts seek an outlet. Many names of future supporters were handed in to the stewards, and expressions of sympathy were heard all over the hall.

Hammersmith W.S.P.U.—An audience of upwards of 300, chiefly women clerks from the Post Office Savings Bank and other departments of the Civil Service, assembled on Tuesday afternoon in the West Kensington Lecture Hall to hear an address on the need of the vote for all women, and more especially for the woman worker. They met under circumstances calculated to emphasise that need, for the Postmaster-General had been consulted the day before by the anxious heads of the Savings Bank Department as to whether it was not contrary to regulations for the clerks to take part in so political a meeting. His reply, received half an hour before the meeting began, stated that it would be a breach of regulations for any employee to take an active part; consequently, the chair was not taken by Miss Howse as announced, nor could any of her fellow clerks act as stewards. As might be expected, the speakers, Miss Macaulay, Mr. Joseph Clayton (in place of Mr. Schloesser), and Miss Pankhurst, drew fitting conclusions from this interesting interpretation of a rule designed to prevent men voters in the postal service from becoming violent political partisans, but enforced, against voters, only with great caution. An excellent impression was made.

F. E. ROWE.

Kensington W.S.P.U.—By the invitation of Miss Grainger, Miss Evelyn Sharp and Miss Conolan addressed a meeting at the Imperial Club, Leham-gardens. They were

fortunate in interesting many ladies who had till then never given serious consideration to the question of woman's suffrage.

Our large meeting at Queen's Gate Hall on December 10, was by no means a failure. A number of students, fresh from a boisterous demonstration in Trafalgar-square, certainly gained admittance to the hall, but not until it was well nigh full, and the meeting had already commenced. They made some disturbance while Miss Conolan and Mrs. Baldock were speaking, and clamoured for Miss Gawthorpe to address them. Miss Gawthorpe responded to these appeals, and at once made a compact with the students for five minutes' attention, assuring them that at the end of that time they would ask her to continue. Her speech forcible and to the point, was keenly appreciated, and for a full half-hour the closest attention was accorded her. Mr. Clarence Rook found the students hostile, but Miss Evelyn Sharp won a fair hearing, and her earnestness obviously impressed the audience.

LOUISE M. EATES.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—We held our fortnightly "At Home" on Wednesday, December 11. The Nottingham demonstration was fully discussed, and Miss Wolf Van Sandan afterwards gave a bright and interesting speech on the franchise for women. Meetings will be suspended till the second week in January, when the committee will meet to discuss the practicability of holding a public meeting in Lewisham.

J. A. BOUVIER.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND.

December 9 to December 16, 1907.

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|--------------------------------------|-------|----|----|----------------------------------|---------------|-----------|----------|
| Already acknowledged... | 3,934 | 1 | 0 | Arthur Walenn, Esq. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Scottish subscriptions..... | 24 | 0 | 0 | Miss Florence Hughes | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| "Elector" | 5 | 0 | 0 | Miss M. Watier | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Jones | 0 | 5 | 0 | Miss Ottilie Graves | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Miss C. A. Jones | 0 | 5 | 0 | Miss Olive Crompton | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Miss Evans | 0 | 5 | 0 | Mrs. Walter Foster | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Arthur Mandefield, Esq. | 0 | 2 | 6 | Mrs. Edith Bright | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Ward | 0 | 3 | 0 | Miss E. Jackson | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mrs. Duff | 0 | 5 | 0 | Miss Jessie Warriner | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mrs. F. Mawson | 0 | 2 | 6 | Miss Lilian Clapham | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mrs. Scorch | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| J. Smith, Esq. | 0 | 2 | 6 | Members' Postage Fees. | | | |
| Anonymous | 1 | 0 | 0 | Miss Susan Cunningham | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss Muriel Abbott | 1 | 0 | 0 | Miss Ethel M. Wilmer | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Drummond, lecture fee .. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Buxton | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss Winifred Holdom | 1 | 0 | 0 | Miss Emily Wilding Davison | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Collected by Miss Winifred Holdom .. | 0 | 15 | 0 | Miss Ada B. Watts | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Bradford Local W.S.P.U. | 5 | 0 | 0 | Miss Emily Grenfell Hill | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Per Miss C. Pankhurst | 1 | 10 | 0 | Miss Alice M. Watts | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss C. D. Townsend | 0 | 4 | 0 | Miss Helen K. Watts | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Sympathisers from Southport .. | 0 | 6 | 0 | Mrs. Jones-Williams | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. A. G. Sayers | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. A. Lloyd Thomas | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Budgett | 25 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Ellis | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Miss Grace Blandy | 1 | 0 | 0 | Collectors, &c. | 75 | 16 | 0 |
| Miss V. M. Shillington, D.Sc. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| | | | | Total | £4,993 | 17 | 9 |

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to December 31 (as far as at present arranged).

| | | | |
|------------------|---|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| Dec. 19 (Thurs.) | London, 4, Clement's Inn, "At Home" | Miss Christabel Pankhurst. | 4 p.m. |
| | Hull, Workers' and Provincial Committee Meeting | Miss Mary Gawthorpe | |
| | Glasgow, Langside | Miss Helen Fraser | 8 p.m. |
| | Birmingham, Bristol-street School Rooms | Miss N. Kenney | 7.30 p.m. |
| Dec. 20 (Fri.) | Kirkintilloch, N.B., Temperance Bovey Tracey | Miss Helen Fraser, Miss Phillips | 8 p.m. |
| | T. Lignmouth | Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Lamb | 7 p.m. |
| Dec. 21 (Sat.) | Newton Abbot | Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Lamb | 3.30 p.m. |
| | | Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Lamb | 7 p.m. |
| Dec. 23 (Mon.) | London, 4, Clement's Inn | "At Home," Miss Christabel Pankhurst. | 4 p.m. |
| Dec. 30 (Mon.) | London, 4, Clement's Inn | "At Home," Mrs. Pethick Lawrence | 4 p.m. |

Important Future Events.

| | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|--|-----------|
| Jan. 14 (Tues.) | Leicester, Borough Society, Town Hall | Miss N. Kenney | 8.15 p.m. |
| | Reigate, Public Hall | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 8 p.m. |
| Jan. 15 (Wed.) | Hull, Assembly Rooms | Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss M. Gawthorpe | |
| | Brighton, Ventnor Hall | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence | 8 p.m. |
| Jan. 31 (Fri.) | Birmingham Town Hall | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss N. Kenney, Miss Una Dugdale | 8 p.m. |
| Feb. 11 | Women's Parliament, Carlton Hall | | |
| Feb. 12 | Women's Parliament, Carlton Hall | | |
| Feb. 13 | Women's Parliament, Carlton Hall | | |
| Mar. 3 | Portman Rooms, Lecture | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence | 8.30 p.m. |
| Mar. 10 | Portman Rooms, Lecture | Dr. Garrett Anderson | 8.30 p.m. |
| Mar. 19 | Royal Albert Hall | | 8 p.m. |

Printed by THE ST. CLEMENTS PRESS, LIMITED, Newspaper Buildings, Portugal Street, Kingsway, London, W.C., and Published for the Proprietors at 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

DECEMBER 26. 1 D.
(Weekly Supplement.) $\frac{1}{2}$

VOICES FOR WOMEN

Edited by
**FREDERICK.W.
& EMMELINE
PETHICK LAWRENCE**

Votes for Women

SUPPLEMENT. DECEMBER 26. 1907.

Price One Halfpenny.

NOTICE.

All communications intended for
THE EDITORS should be sent
direct to

THE EDITORS,
"Votes for Women,"
4, Clement's Inn,
Strand, W.C.

And should reach the office not
later than

FIRST POST SATURDAY
prior to the publication of the
paper

Telephone: 5550 Holborn.
Telegrams: "Wospolu, London."

"Votes for Women" is issued
Monthly. Price 3d.

A Weekly Supplement, price 3d., is issued on every
Thursday on which the monthly issue is not published.

The National Women's Social and Political Union.

OFFICE: 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND W.C.

Telegraphic Address—WOSPOLU, LONDON.

Hon. Auditor: A. G. BAYERS, Chartered Accountant, 19, Hanover Square, W.

Telephone—3550 Holborn.

Bankers: MESSRS. BARCLAY & CO., 19, Fleet Street, E.C.

COMMITTEE:

MRS. PANKHURST, *Founder and Hon. Sec.* MRS. TUCK, *Joint Hon. Sec.* MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE, *Hon. Treasurer.* MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, *Organising Sec.*
MRS. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY. MISS ANNIE KENNEY. MISS MARY NEAL. MISS MARY GAWTHORPE. MRS. N. A. MARTEL. MISS ELIZABETH ROBINS.

The N.W.S.P.U. appeals for the name and address of every Woman in the country, of whatever class or political creed, who is willing to unite and work actively for the removal of the present degrading political disability imposed upon women. The Union welcomes every helper, and needs a great staff of voluntary speakers and canvassers and workers, whose services can be organised in the ever-growing National Campaign, and who can assist in raising the Special Fund of £20,000 which is now needed to carry on and extend its present work.

The bye-election campaign in mid-Devon is prospering. Very full reports of our meetings have appeared in the local Press. Miss Lamb and Miss Gye, who went to the constituency immediately after the Parliamentary vacancy occurred, have been organising meetings. Those held on Friday and Saturday last were addressed by Mrs. Martel. Three members of the Committee will spend their Christmas holidays in the division.

Mrs. Pankhurst's visit to Aberdeen has had very happy results. The local W.S.P.U. held a public meeting in the hall of the Y.M.C.A., and Mrs. Jameson arranged a drawing-room meeting at the Grand Hotel. These meetings were very well reported.

On December 19 we were successful in making protests at the meetings of two Cabinet Ministers. In Huddersfield our representatives attended a Volunteer function at which Mr. Haldane was the speaker. They made their protest, and were ejected. At Aberdeen Mr. Asquith was asked whether he would withdraw his opposition to tax-paying women. His reply was to the effect that he would not withdraw his opposition unless it could be proved to him that women desired the vote, and that Women's Suffrage would be beneficial to them and to the community at large. It will be seen that Mr. Asquith is attempting to lay down for us conditions never imposed in the case of the men's agitation for the vote.

Is the Demand of the Majority Essential?

Men have never been called upon to prove that the majority of those for whom enfranchisement was sought really desired it. Mr. Gladstone, when it was objected to the County Franchise Bill that there was no demand for votes on the part of the male agricultural labourer, expressly said that that was no argument against giving them the vote. Whether they desired them or not, he asserted, the agricultural labourers needed votes, and, therefore, votes they must have. Even in Gladstone's day the women's agitation for votes was admittedly stronger than that waged by the agricultural labourers, and since then the women's movement has grown enormously, so that Mr. Asquith, in resisting Women's Suffrage on the ground that the demand for it is not strong enough, is adopting an untenable position. Mr. Asquith omitted to inform his audience in what manner, assuming the majority of women to want the vote, their demand ought to be expressed. He can hardly complain if, for want of guidance on this point, the Women's Social and Political Union pursue tactics which appear to them to be having a marked and satisfactory effect. It is possible to trace the effect of our tactics upon Mr. Asquith. Hostile as he still remains to the enfranchisement of women, he appears to be preparing for surrender. When approached in East Fife in the autumn of 1906, he stated that, having heard every argument in favour of and every argument against Women's Suffrage, he remained unconverted; but at Nottingham, on the 10th of this month, he informed the Liberal women that he was prepared to be converted by reasonable arguments. This advance on his part encourages us to believe that the ultimate effect of our militant campaign will be to force Mr. Asquith to admit the soundness of the arguments in favour of Women's Suffrage. Argument un-

supported by action will never move the Government to grant the vote. Conveners of great meetings should remember that the utility of public meetings in favour of Women's Suffrage lies in the fact that those who attend them are roused to the point of action. During the past 50 years enthusiastic men and women have made convincing speeches in support of Women's Suffrage, but it was not until deeds were added to words that Women's Suffrage became a question of practical politics.

The reference to our tactics made in the *Daily News'* leading article bears witness to a significant change of attitude:—

Whatever effect the tactics of the militant section of suffragists may have had in cooling the ardour of some nominal supporters of their claim, it is sufficiently clear that it has, on the other hand, rallied a large number of women to their standard who did no active work for the franchise before this campaign was inaugurated. The number of women who will face the obloquy and the physical hardship involved in these violent protests has increased with every month, and their ability to fill a great hall with their supporters shows that outside the relatively few who will act there are immense numbers who will demonstrate. The theory that only a few women really care about the suffrage is utterly untenable. The number who care very intensely indeed is growing. Whatever view one may take of the wisdom of these violent tactics—and we have never concealed our view—they have the effect of making the demand more conscious, and the resistance to it correspondingly more open and decided. The tactics themselves have no bearing whatever on the merits of the case for the vote. But any agitation, be it legal or illegal, wise or foolish, violent or regular, provided it be determined enough and continuous enough, changes the attitude of opponents insensibly from one of indifference to one of active hostility. It is still possible to say that the franchise would be a bad thing. It is no longer possible to say that women do not care about it.

In another column will be found the editorial view of tactics taken by the *Aberdeen Free Press*. There are many other signs that our agitation is now beginning to be understood by the followers of the Government as well as by the general public. The *Daily News* expresses a wish to see the Liberal party go boldly to the country to ask for a mandate to enfranchise women. The demand of women themselves, including the women Liberals, is that this Parliament shall deal with the question. To appeal to the country will mean that the men only are consulted, and women's claim to vote does not depend upon the consent of men. Women's Suffrage is admittedly a just measure, and we therefore claim that the vote be granted to us without delay.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

The 'Nottingham Guardian' on Votes for Women.

We give *verbatim* the following leading article, which appeared in the "Nottingham Guardian" on December 12. This striking tribute to our line of action should be well digested by the militant, earnest women who are making political history:—

The one thing which the Liberal party seems to be managing to perfection is the chucking out of women from its meetings, and the hustling of them in the streets. In everything else the Liberal party of late has failed, but in its campaign against women it is meeting with a degree of success that must really be deemed brilliant. The mere mention of the words "Votes for women" at a Liberal meeting seems to so excite the people present that they almost lose their reason, and the unfortunate woman who has uttered the words is immediately pounced upon by two or three

burly men, who carry her out, with dishevelled hair and probably also with damaged hat, and in the streets an admiring crowd pelt the unfortunate women with mud and other missiles, while the police either help the crowd or stand looking on. If some drunken loafer had gone to the meeting, and loudly demanded a reduction in the tax upon gin, he would have been humoured, and permitted to have his say in peace. The chairman or chief speaker might even have promised to consider his proposal that gin should be cheaper, because Liberals are always ready to consider everything, and to do nothing. Even if the drunken loafer had been ejected, the crowd would have received him smilingly, and the police would probably have helped him home. The explanation is that the man would have a vote, and, therefore, be a power in the State, so that he would have to be considered. But the woman, having no vote, is placed on a lower political level even than the drunken loafer, or the scamp who lives on the immoral earnings of his wife. And yet people wonder that women should want votes! It does not matter much whether a woman is a suffragist or not. If she only stands up, or does something that accidentally attracts attention at a Liberal meeting, out she goes, and the mob in the streets is ready for her. At Mr. Asquith's meeting in this city the other night several women who had no connection whatever with the women's suffrage movement were subjected to very rough treatment, and in another portion of this journal two of them ask the reason why. All these attacks that are being made upon women are, however, very unmanly and undignified, as well as silly. Women are only doing what men have done over and over again in the past—that is, pressing for their rights. It required many riots and much disturbance to move the Legislature to extend the franchise to men, and if men had sat quietly down without demanding the franchise, they would never have got it. Women have been quietly agitating for votes for fifty years, and no notice was ever taken of them. No notice ever would have been taken of them had they continued to agitate quietly, because men, who are supposed by some unthinking people to look so tenderly after the welfare of women, are too selfish to do anything of the kind, and the House of Commons has never yet been anything but a selfish and flippant body, as it is to-day.

In opposing women's suffrage the Liberal party is opposing its own best traditions. We have been assured, not once, but a thousand times at least, that there ought to be no "taxation without representation." This has always been declared to be a fundamental principle of Liberal policy. But to-day the Liberal party is taxing thousands of women and refusing them all representation. Where is the consistency of this? Women stand to-day upon precisely the same footing as men. There are a million of them in the country who cannot marry even if they wished to do so, which many of them do not. And there are millions more for whom their parents have made no provision, so that they must work for their living until they do marry, just the same as men. They pay rates and taxes if they are householders, and taxes even if they are not. They cannot in justice be refused a voice in the levying of the taxes they are compelled to pay or in the making of the laws they are compelled to obey. It is childish to argue that women do not want votes, and that votes would be of no use to them. The people who are doing this used to argue that the slaves did not want to be liberated, and that they preferred to remain slaves. No slave ever said so, and every rational person knew that such statements as we have described were untrue. In the same way every rational person knows that the statements now being made to the effect that women do not want votes and that votes would be of no use to them are untrue also. All such statements spring from exactly the same spirit, and it is a bad spirit. Not so many years ago, when the Legislature was considering the Married Women's Property Act, we were assured by the class of people to whom we are now referring that women did not want the Act, and that it would be bad for them. "It was so nice," we were told, "for women to have men to look after their money," and to spend it for them. No intelligent woman ever said this, and no intelligent men really believed it, although many men professed to do so. The Act was passed, and it has saved many a woman from beggary and many a child from the workhouse. And when women get votes—and they will get them—they will be able to use the votes for the benefit of their sex. The sweated woman, who makes shirts at three-farthings each, and whose children perchance have to work for fourteen hours per day in sewing on buttons or some other industry in order to get bread, will know how to use her vote. There are believed to be a quarter of a million of sweated children in the land, working often far into the night for a paltry pittance. The men who whine that women do not want votes will probably tell us that the sweated woman likes to be sweated and to see her children starving. But they should ask the woman. Her reply would settle the point quickly, and there would be no further room for the claptrap and cant that is now so often uttered upon this point. No rational person can suppose that the women in the slums want their children to die, as

they do like flies, simply because men have not the brains and the intelligence to provide the country with a rational system of education, under which women would be instructed in the elementary principles of motherhood. And when women have votes these things, and many others, will, we feel sure, receive more attention. But it is an astounding thing that the Liberal party, which has always boasted of its desire to obtain political representation for everybody, should now be tolerating, and even encouraging, the persecution of women simply because they demand what they have a perfect right to—that is, the vote.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

This week has been a busy one in Aberdeen, for Mrs. Pankhurst has been hard at work there urging the right of women to the franchise. A highly successful meeting was held last Monday at the Y.M.C.A. rooms, and the following day the "Aberdeen Free Press" published a splendid article on the movement—an article which fully and pointedly demonstrated how the agitation of the past two years had brought our demands into the realms of practical politics. The drawing-room meeting at the Grand Hotel on December 17 brought together a great many sympathisers and supporters, all of whom appreciated Mrs. Jameson's kind invitation. On both of these occasions Lady Ramsay and Mrs. Pankhurst were the speakers, and again on Wednesday at Ellon.

Miss Mary Phillips returns to-day from East Fife for our meetings to-night at Hillhead and to-morrow at Kirkintilloch. An excellent programme for work in East Fife during January has now been arranged. As our Kirkintilloch meeting is specially to explain why we heckled the Right Hon. John Sinclair, we expect the proceedings to be somewhat animated. We are also busy with arrangements for furnishing and opening our new offices in Bath-street. Miss Burnett, 2, St. James-place, Hillhead, Glasgow, who is acting as hon. treasurer, will be delighted to receive contributions from sympathisers who can give financial assistance towards the upkeep of our new premises. We feel sure our new premises will prove invaluable in extending the work in the West of Scotland.

Mrs. Craig, our Dumbarton hon. secretary, has been speaking twice lately on "Votes for Women"—at Clydebank and at Maryhill.

HILLEN FRASER.

LONDON AND THE PROVINCES.

Clapham W.S.P.U.—On December 12, we held a public meeting at St. Anne's Hall, when the chair was taken by Mrs. Yeates. Miss Pankhurst and Miss Conolan were the chief speakers, but the audience, owing to exceptionally bad weather, was somewhat scantier than we expected. The speeches, which were concise and forcible, were followed with close interest, and a goodly crop of questions were ready for the speakers when they had finished. We are hoping to arrange a meeting for women only early in the New Year.

L. RICHARDSON.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—On Monday, December 16, Sir Randal Cremer, M.P., delivered a lecture to the members of the Union Literary and Scientific Society at the Unitarian Church on "Arbitration and the Hague Conference." At question time I asked the lecturer: "If he did not think that the peace movement would be the more quickly brought within the range of practical politics if the women of the world were properly represented in their various Parliaments?" He replied, first, that my question did not bear on the subject; second, he had already expressed his views in the House of Commons and elsewhere; and, third, as the question had been put he would answer it in the negative. A member of the society asked the lecturer whether he did not think Elisabeth Fry and the Society of Friends had taken a very active part in the peace movement. In his answer, Sir Randal Cremer ignored Elisabeth Fry, but admitted that the Society of Friends had done useful work in the cause of peace. In the discussion which followed, Mr. Crane, an eager supporter of the Government, spoke as to the value of the work women had done in the cause of peace, and he expressed a hope that the lecturer would eventually alter his attitude, and cease to deny to women the right of citizenship. Our next "At Home" will be held on January 8.

G. A. BOUVIER.

Mr. Asquith and Aberdeen Women Liberals.

The "Aberdeen Free Press," on December 19, published the text of an important letter addressed to Mr. Asquith by the women's branch of the Liberal Association. We give the letter as it appeared in the columns of that paper:—

The Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.C., M.P.,
Chancellor of His Majesty's Exchequer.

SIR,—The members of the Women's Branch of the Aberdeen Liberal Association, while recognising that it is unusual for a Member of Parliament to receive deputations outwith his own constituency, yet desire to avail themselves of the presence in Aberdeen of a Cabinet Minister of such distinction and influence, and so wish respectfully to approach you by means of this letter.

They are well acquainted with your opinions on the subject of the enfranchisement of women, and if those objections are based upon the belief that women do not wish the vote, they desire respectfully to inform you that the women of Aberdeenshire are most keenly desirous of securing this reform. They beg to point out that, almost without exception, those women who do not wish enfranchisement are those whose lives are sheltered and well cared for, and who have not to fight and overcome the difficulties and hardships that the ordinary working woman has to face.

The Liberal women of Aberdeen, who have loyally supported and strenuously worked for the present Government, are very desirous of securing their own enfranchisement, and have hitherto worked upon strictly constitutional lines, having strongly deprecated and entirely dissociated themselves from the unconstitutional methods pursued by the Women's Social and Political Union.

They feel, however, that the Government's delay in introducing a Bill granting the franchise to women taxpayers, is placing a severe strain upon their loyalty.

At a largely attended meeting, held on November 20, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

"That this meeting of the Women's Branch of the Aberdeen Liberal Association expresses confidence in, and loyalty to, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and his Government, and in view of the large and ever-increasing number of women who are now engaged in the industry and commerce of the country, would respectfully urge upon the Prime Minister the necessity of introducing a Bill for the enfranchisement of tax-paying women, in order that they may safeguard their own interests."

B. T. BLACK, President.

CLEMENTINA ESSELMONT, Vice-President.

ANNE F. ALLAN, Honorary Secretary.

On the same date the "Aberdeen Free Press" published a leading article, which for the benefit of militant Suffragists all over the United Kingdom we reproduce in full:—

The letter from the Women's Branch of the Aberdeen Liberal Association to Mr. Asquith on the subject of the enfranchisement of women is significant. It is a portent of the difficulties in which the Liberal party will speedily be placed in the event of the continued refusal of the Government to bring forward a Bill conceding the Parliamentary vote to women taxpayers. The letter is a sign and symbol of the important new development of the franchise agitation that is challenging attention in various Liberal strongholds, especially across the Border. The memorialists in this case, it is essential to note, do not belong to the class who have of late come into prominence as suffragists. It is only as women Liberals they speak, and they expressly dissociate themselves from "the unconstitutional methods pursued by the Women's Social and Political Union." They have hitherto put their Liberalism first, and as regards the franchise have limited themselves to the quieter forms of propaganda recommended by those opposed to the strategy of the suffragists. They have been hopeful that this would suffice in a party the majority of whose representatives in Parliament are pledged to support woman's suffrage. But what do they find? That their adoption of this policy, instead of promoting the cause which professed friends have counselled them it would effectually ripen, is, with the connivance of party managers, being cited as conclusive evidence that Liberal women do not want the vote. The suffragists are declared to represent a limited class—chiefly themselves—and to be mere notoriety-hunters, while the "orderliness" of other women—so grateful to the official mind which hates bother—is pointed proudly to as showing that outside the suffragist ranks there is no real demand for the franchise, but, on the contrary, pronounced apathy. That is the reward which Liberal women have received for their party loyalty! It is not surprising that in increasing degree and with rising indignation they are resenting such treatment, and beginning to make it clear—as in the letter to Mr. Asquith—that if they are to be further befooled they, too, will have to fall back upon forceful tactics. They feel that if they are not to be the mere scullery-maids of the Liberal party they must set the franchise first; that in no other way will they be accepted as being in earnest. Certainly they have had proof enough that the mild-mannered process of agitation by means of postage stamps is utterly

abortive. And however much they may repudiate the doings of the suffragists, they have to admit that it is through these doings woman's suffrage has now become a real live question. The suffragists belong to different political parties, but meantime they are concerned only to join hands as one in pressing for their political rights. The letter to Mr. Asquith states that "the Liberal women of Aberdeen have loyally supported and strenuously worked for the present Government." That is where the glaring illogicalness of the situation arises. The two great political parties are relying more and more upon women in electioneering warfare. Women are welcomed on the platform, they are even pressed into service as speakers, whilst as canvassers they are in extraordinary request. Not simply because of their charms as women, but because they are presumed to have the knowledge and argumentative readiness and resource requisite to persuade wavering and to win over hostile voters. So long as party interests require them they receive glowing certificates of political capacity. But when the objects of candidates and agents have been accomplished there is a change of tune. "The vote? Preposterous! You really do not want it, and you know you are not capable of exercising it." And so the devoted workers to whose political enthusiasm and efficiency so many tributes have been paid are dismissed with cold stares and shrugs or are given a few pie-crust promises. How absurd it is to go on repeating this programme Liberal women are at least perceiving, and hence the revolt that, independently of the suffragist movement, though quite in line with it, is now assuming concrete shape, women workers in the Liberal cause giving emphatic intimation that if there is further dilly-dallying in the granting of the vote they must withdraw their aid, oppose where they had previously helped, and leave candidates and agents to do their electioneering themselves. This would be virtually a strike of Liberal women, and a strike of Liberal women would mean a Liberal debacle. It is in this direction the Aberdeen Liberal women are gravitating. They indicate that an intolerable strain has been placed on their loyalty, and that it must end. As a concession to form they are trying one last letter. That—unless the unexpected happen—will go the way of other appeals. Then the field will be clear for militant action, and that properly directed will soon tell. As politics are constituted at present, women, if they are not assertive, will have no attention paid to them, but will be allowed to whistle for the vote. Only by becoming troublers of Israel can they compel justice.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND.

December 16 to December 20, 1907.

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------------|-------|----|----|----------------------------------|-------|----|----|
| Already acknowledged, 4,093 17 9½ | 4,093 | 17 | 9½ | Mrs. E. Morgan | 0 | 12 | 8 |
| John Murray, Esq. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Theodor Krauss, Esq. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| London City W.S.P.U. | 14 | 0 | 0 | Miss G. M. Keys | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Miss E. McClelland | 1 | 0 | 0 | Miss I. Wilson | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Mrs. Farrar | 1 | 0 | 0 | Anonymous | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Turtle | 0 | 5 | 0 | Members' Postage Fees. | | | |
| Miss E. C. Bevan | 2 | 0 | 0 | Miss Helen Wilkie, M.A. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. J. Rooper | 2 | 2 | 0 | Miss Arnot Erskine Wilkie, LL.D. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss A. P. Ridley | 1 | 0 | 0 | Miss Ethel Matthews | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss E. J. Murrell | 0 | 10 | 6 | Miss Charlotte Loft | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss Fisher | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Bessie K. Morris | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss Polyneaux Fletcher | 1 | 1 | 0 | Miss Nellie Staff | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Subscription | 0 | 2 | 6 | Miss Mary Keegan | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss Lord | 0 | 5 | 0 | Miss Emily A. Vigor | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss D. L. Bakewell | 0 | 2 | 6 | Miss Gwyneth M. Keys | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. and Miss M'Allan | 0 | 2 | 0 | Mrs. E. Clifford Smith | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Miss Christine Hughesdon | 1 | 0 | 0 | Collections, &c. | 2 | 8 | 9 |
| Mrs. L. Wilkins | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Lady Westman Pearson | 10 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. Kinnell | 5 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss Kinnell | 5 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Miss C. Davis | 0 | 3 | 6 | | | | |
| Mrs. Rock | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | | |
| | | | | Total | 4,137 | 14 | 8½ |

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to December 31 (as far as at present arranged).

| Date | Location | Event | Time |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|-----------|
| Dec. 30 (Mon.) | London, 4, Clement's-inn | "At Home," Mrs. Pethick Lawrence | 4 p.m. |
| Important Future Events. | | | |
| Jan. 12 (Tues.) | Liskeston, Borough Society, Town Hall | Debating, Miss N. Kenney | 8.15 p.m. |
| | Reigate, Public Hall | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 8 p.m. |
| Jan. 15 (Wed.) | Hull, Assembly Rooms | Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss M. Gawthorpe | 8 p.m. |
| | Brighton, Ventnor Hall | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence | 8 p.m. |
| Jan. 31 (Fri.) | Birmingham Town Hall | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss N. Kenney, Miss Una Dugdale | 8 p.m. |
| Feb. 11 | Women's Parliament, Carlton Hall | | |
| Feb. 12 | Women's Parliament, Carlton Hall | | |
| Feb. 13 | Women's Parliament, Carlton Hall | | |
| Mar. 3 | Portman Rooms, Lecture | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence | 8.30 p.m. |
| Mar. 10 | Portman Rooms, Lecture | Dr. Garrett Anderson | 8.30 p.m. |
| Mar. 19 | Royal Albert Hall | | 8 p.m. |

Printed by THE ST. CLEMENTS PRESS, LIMITED, Newspaper Buildings, Portugal Street, Kingway, London, W.C., and Published for the Proprietors at 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

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DEDICATION.

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

Events have been moving very rapidly recently in the world of women. Signs are increasing all over the country that women do not intend to tolerate very much longer the position of subjection which they have so long occupied. These signs are not confined to women of one class or political faith, nor are they concerned with one single question which affects women's lives, but cover the whole range of their social, economic, and political outlook.

The Liberal Women.

The Liberal Women are within measurable distance of revolt. The Women's Liberal Federation have requested the Prime Minister to appoint a day, on his return to England, to receive a deputation from them. They call upon him to introduce an Enfranchisement Bill during the present Parliament; and they have decided to hold a big meeting on January 24 in the Queen's Hall, to be addressed solely by women speakers, at which their claim for the franchise will be set forth. The Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Women's Liberal Associations passed the subjoined resolution at a recent meeting:—

The executive committee of the Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Women's Liberal Associations desire to express their deep dissatisfaction at the statements of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Herbert Gladstone—"That there is no hope of the Government dealing with the question of women's suffrage during the present Parlia-

ment"—and in view of the great strain placed upon the loyalty of the members of the Liberal party by these statements, urge the Prime Minister to receive a deputation from this union, representing 70 Women's Liberal Associations, with the object of obtaining an assurance that a Bill enabling women to vote for Parliamentary candidates will be introduced by the Government and passed before the present Parliament be dissolved.

In Aberdeen the local branch of the Women's Liberal Association is nettled by the callous treatment which has been meted out to them by the Government. And in connection with the visit of Mr. Asquith to Aberdeen on December 19, a correspondence has been taking place, which we give in full on page 58, 59 of this issue.

Women Workers.

The decision of the Court that married women are not entitled to save anything out of their housekeeping money has been discussed all over the country by the women of the Co-operative Guild, who realise that it strikes a fundamental blow at the small remnant of independence which the married working woman possesses. The women of the Co-operative Guild are, in consequence, turning more and more to the suffrage, seeing that it is the sole rock upon which any rights can be founded. Meanwhile, the women school-teachers are expressing dissatisfaction at the way in which the executive of the N.U.T. deals with their position, and in which the claims of women teachers are subordinated to those of the men. The nurses, too, are agitating against the new Bill of the Central Hospital Council for London, under which nurses would be excluded from any voice in the management of their own profession.

Prohibition of Women's Labour.

The whole question of the security of woman's labour has been raised by a speech of the Right Hon. John Burns, at Leeds, in the course of which he used these significant words: "The labour of women, especially of married women, must be enormously curtailed." The importance of this statement to women can hardly be over-estimated. It means that the Liberal Government, elected solely by men, is seriously considering the exclusion, by statute, of women from occupations at which they are at present earning their living. It means that in the case of married women the Government are seriously considering prohibiting their labour altogether, and this in face of the fact that in the present state of the law no woman can claim as a legal right from her husband any share in his wages or any maintenance whatever for herself or her children except by deliberately breaking up her home and going into the workhouse. The question is one, however, far too complicated to be dealt with briefly; it is misunderstood by many well-meaning persons, who, seeing the evils attending the onerous lives of working women who are employed in factories, imagine that a solution is to be found by prohibition. We shall return to this question again in the columns of this paper; in the meanwhile, it should be patent to everyone that a Government which is not responsible to the opinions

of the women, but only to the men of the country is not in a position to interfere with the economic freedom of the woman worker.

Progress of the Agitation.

Meanwhile the agitation for the vote proceeds with ever accelerating speed. The New Year increase in the National Women's Social and Political Union in office and *personnel* would alone provide an organisation of no inconsiderable dimensions. Of this details are given by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, on page 53 of this issue. The work done during the past month has been very extensive, and has included protests made at the meetings of Cabinet Ministers all over the country. It is interesting to notice that the Press has begun to admit that the women and their energetic action can hardly be said to have put the clock back so much as was previously supposed!

Friendly Attitude of the "Daily News."

The reference to our tactics made in the *Daily News'* leading article bears witness to a significant change of attitude:—

Whatever effect the tactics of the militant section of suffragists may have had in cooling the ardour of some nominal supporters of their claim, it is sufficiently clear that it has, on the other hand, rallied a large number of women to their standard who did no active work for the franchise before this campaign was inaugurated. The number of women who will face the obloquy and the physical hardship involved in these violent protests has increased with every month, and their ability to fill a great hall with their supporters shows that outside the relatively few who will act there are immense numbers who will demonstrate. The theory that only a few women really care about the suffrage is utterly untenable. The number who care very intensely indeed is growing. Whatever view one may take of the wisdom of these violent tactics—and we have never concealed our view—they have the effect of making the demand more conscious, and the resistance to it correspondingly more open and decided. The tactics themselves have no bearing whatever on the merits of the case for the vote. But any agitation, be it legal or illegal, wise or foolish, violent or regular, provided it be determined enough and continuous enough, changes the attitude of opponents insensibly from one of indifference to one of active hostility. It is still possible to say that the franchise would be a bad thing. It is no longer possible to say that women do not care about it.

In another column will be found the editorial view of tactics taken by the *Aberdeen Free Press*.

The "Nottingham Guardian."

A still more striking tribute to our line of action was the leading article in the *Nottingham Guardian* of December 12, which in the course of a clear and logical exposition of the necessity for woman suffrage, said:—

The one thing which the Liberal party seems to be managing to perfection is the chucking out of women from its meetings, and the hustling of them in the streets. In everything else the Liberal party of late has failed, but in its campaign against women it is meeting with a degree of success that must really be deemed brilliant. The mere mention of the words "Votes for women" at a Liberal meeting seems to so excite the people present that they almost lose their reason, and the unfortunate woman who has uttered the words is immediately pounced upon by two or three burly men, who carry her out, with dishevelled hair and probably also with damaged hat, and in the streets an admiring crowd pelt the unfortunate woman with mud and other missiles, while the police either help the crowd or stand looking on.

After comparing the treatment accorded to the women

with that which would be meted out to some drunken loafer at a Liberal meeting, the *Guardian* proceeds:—

Women are only doing what men have done over and over again in the past—that is, pressing for their rights. It required many riots and much disturbance to move the Legislature to extend the franchise to men, and if men had sat quietly down without demanding the franchise, they would never have got it. Women have been quietly agitating for votes for fifty years, and no notice was ever taken of them. No notice ever would have been taken of them had they continued to agitate quietly, because men, who are supposed by some unthinking people to look so tenderly after the welfare of women, are too selfish to do anything of the kind, and the House of Commons has never yet been anything but a selfish and flippant body, as it is to-day.

Features of this Number.

With the present issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN is presented a portrait of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Hon. Treasurer of the N.W.S.P.U., and joint editor of this paper. Among the principal features of the issue are the messages to women from Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, the eminent scientist; from Miss Constance Maud, the well-known writer; from Alderman Sanders, L.C.C.; from Mrs. Massy, a prominent worker for the Union; as well as from Miss Mary Neal, a member of the N.W.S.P.U. Committee. Miss Juliette Heale contributes an article on the wage of the married woman. The story of the demand for the Franchise is taken by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst up to the year 1880, showing petitioners to the number of nearly three million asking that the vote be accorded to women. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence writes on the meaning of the vote to those who are taking part in the struggle. There is also an interesting letter on page 50 from a social worker, emphasising the helplessness of the position of the wife whose husband refuses to maintain her. An interesting account will also be found of Mr. Asquith's meeting at Aberdeen, and the subterfuges the Liberals were put to to prevent interruptions from the W.S.P.U.

To New Readers.

In the form in which it appears in this number VOTES FOR WOMEN is issued as a *monthly* newspaper, and contains articles and other material likely to be of special interest to the general public. A uniform price of 3d. a copy is charged, or (as it cannot be registered at the Post Office as a newspaper, which only recognises weekly publications) it will be sent post free to any address within the postal union for 4d. a copy. In each of those weeks in which the monthly VOTES FOR WOMEN is *not* published a special four-page sheet is issued containing all the principal news of the movement—an account of the happenings of the week gone by, and a programme of prospective arrangements for the week to come. This weekly bulletin will be known as the *Votes for Women Supplement*,* and will be sold for ½d. (by post 1d.).

In the course of the year there will be twelve monthly numbers of the paper, and forty weekly supplements. Subscribers will be able to obtain the paper either through their newsagents, or through local W.S.P.U.'s, or by post direct from the offices of the paper, 4, Clement's-inn, W.C. The subscription for the year for all the issues and supplements is 7s. 4d., inclusive of postage; for the twelve monthly issues only, 4s.

* The Supplements to the present January number will accordingly be issued on January 9, January 16, and January 23, and the February number will be ready on January 30.